

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

FORMERLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS AND WORLD'S WORK

★ ★ ★ EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW ★ ★ ★

DECEMBER

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

BY ALBERT SHAW

The presidency, 1935 model, shows marked resemblance to the one-man rule of Haroun Al-Rashid, the Caliph of Bagdad . . . What did the elections indicate? . . . New leadership for Canada.

AT THE BEGINNING of the year Congress appropriated in one brief enactment the colossal sum of \$4,800,000,000 to be spent in the immediate future with the avowed object of creating public works that would take care of all the able-bodied heads of families who were on the relief rolls as unemployed. In the previous year (providing for so-called emergency relief for 1934 in total amount also running into billions) Congress had made some stipulations. Loans in definite sums to the state governments were provided for. Amounts for highways were assigned on a system. Bulk sums to be used for other public works were allocated. And there were prescribed totals, on an elastic scheme, for direct relief. But in the session of January, 1935, at the President's own courteous insistence, Congress set the Chief Executive up as sole and unhampered dispenser. At his free disposal was by far the greatest sum ever entrusted to the discretion of any human being.

In return for this unexampled mark of confidence, the President promised to make swift work of the business of taking unemployed men off the relief rolls. People unemployable by reason of age or ill health were at some time to be turned back for aid and succor to their own states and localities and to voluntary agencies, but not too promptly. Until the present Administration began its unprecedented experiments, no one had ever thought of the Government as an agency that would invade Portland, Maine, Portland, Oregon, and every big and little place between them, through an improvised, haphazard federal bureaucracy, to sweep aside the experienced local machinery of relief for the needy and dependent,

and undertake to comfort the afflicted and to feed the hungry with its bright new-deal spoons.

The federal relief work systems of 1933 and 1934 had been only less successful than they were extravagant. They could hardly be called systems, for they were reckless and transitory experiments. There had never been a year in American history when the individual states and localities were unfit or unable to take care of their own people. If officialdom at Washington had never heard about unemployment outside of the District of Columbia, forty-eight sovereign states would have taken care of their own people. They would not have employed armies of tax-eating relief officials, and they would not have allowed trade-union spokesmen to dictate impossible wage scales as the one and only condition upon which idlers would accept public employment.

Some of the states might have asked the federal government to give them temporary credit support, in order to secure low interest rates. Any one of them, however, could have borrowed ample amounts for relief purposes from its own citizens, if high enough rates had been offered. Even in the western drought troubles, financial aid was all that was needed. If an expert in public finance, criticising the so-called New Deal, should assert that he had studied federal relief as actually carried on during almost three years and had found it the most colossal administrative orgy in the history of empires and nations, who is there that could furnish a refutation of his facts and figures?

It was promised that four billions would be so assigned to useful public work during 1935 that within a few months direct employment would be

given to 3,500,000 able-bodied individuals who were on the relief rolls as the year opened. With the dates for this result changed more than once, the end of the year approaches to find the promise only partly fulfilled. Perhaps somewhat more than half of the stipulated numbers are drawing public money for rendering nominal service here and there on the plan of a forty-hour week. It might have been thought that federal money would have been spent upon genuine national projects. But there had been no efficient planning, and the distribution of the fund, after painful deadlocks, drifted to the acceptance of every conceivable kind of whimsical proposal for locality projects, or even for individual benefit on pretext of esthetic or sanitary benefit.

Has Congress abdicated its own functions, and also violated the Constitution, in conferring numerous law-



Sole dispenser of the greatest sum ever entrusted to any human being.

making, judicial, taxing and dispensing powers upon executive officers and administrative agencies? We do not see how any intelligent person can answer in the negative. But since such questions are to be argued pro and con before the federal courts, where impartial conclusions will be reached, we are content to await their decisions. We should like to see Congress recover the respect that it has lost through its subservience. On demand of the Executive it has not only yielded its own prerogatives to the whim of bureaucrats, but it has also gone through the empty formality of conferring functions that do not belong to either or any branch of the federal government.

Utopia, by Purchase

Men holding public office, like private individuals, should be judged by their actions and their statements. It is not well to attribute to any man less worthy motives than those that he professes. It is to be assumed that the President has accepted the strange and varied functions that he exercises—wholly beyond the range of duties recognized by any previous president—with the sole motive of showering blessings upon the inhabitants of the United States.

But in asking Congress to allow him to use vast sums of money in his own way, for any purpose that appeals to his sympathies or his fancies from day to day—including thousands of items known in this year's slang as "boondoggling"—he has undertaken a role that no other American could possibly sustain. It is so far away from precedents in this or any other supposedly constitutional country that "Alice in Wonderland" seems to have replaced the schoolbooks on civil government.

If so much money was to be spent for relief in 1935 Congress could have appropriated it upon a plan. There were not a few good citizens, however, who feared that Congressmen would spread it out with too much thought of their own states and districts.

The President and his experts, it was alleged, could do a magical job if the money were placed at their disposal, with the freedom of earth, air and sky, in the happy summertime of a revived 1935 America. "The lark was up to meet the sun, the bird was on the wing":—this for the farmers and the new life on the soil! While for city dwellers:—renovated slums, thousands of playgrounds, and a "hot time in the old town"! Counsel could have been taken with congressional committees, at some slight risk of being hampered. There could have been public hearings attended by

well-informed citizens from various localities. A timid executive would have required more exact calculations; he would not have relied so cheerfully upon mere enthusiasm, with the self-confidence that comes from popularity; he would not have demanded the money first, and left plans to be invented afterwards.

Secretary Ickes, naturally and properly, contended for the selection of suitable and permanent public works of a national character that would continue through the generations to justify themselves as public assets. Such works would require materials to be supplied by private industry. This intelligent line of proceeding would have taken more time, but it would have served the country better in the long run.

The White House, however, had made a promise. By mid-summer or early autumn three and a half million men were to be given direct employment. They were to have assurance of work at least for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1936. Arithmetic is a troublesome matter, and it had been neglected. If too large a part of the four billions were to be spent through the careful organization that Secretary Ickes as Public Works Administrator had built up, there would be heavy bills for materials. Even if more moderate sums were set aside for appropriate public works, there would not remain enough money to give a year's direct employment to anything like three and a half million workers.

Our Daring Young Man

What, then, was the alternative? The Public Works Administration was already committed to a few large enterprises that could not be abandoned. But the President's great fund must in the main be paid out for wages; and no way to do this could be found except through the creation of an immense number of locality jobs. The tried and tested Harry Hopkins was the daring young man who could distribute government money. Some people said that Hopkins never tried to conceal his pleasure in the thought that corporations and plutocrats would have to pay the ultimate cost. His Emergency Relief Administration was transformed, over night, into the Works Progress Administration.

We cannot now give even a slight description of the varied programs that have been set on foot by people of imagination to make work and use up public money. The pages of several huge volumes will be closely jammed when, at some future time, Harry Hopkins can stop traveling on his magic carpet and settle down to compiling the data and rendering

some account of his many adventures.

Far be it from us to refer to Mr. Hopkins as if in disapproval. If that busy gentleman pauses to glance at these comments he will do it with unshaken confidence in the sincerity of friends who regard him as an executive not merely of nerve and dash, but also of honesty, fidelity, and exceptional talents.

Because programs were so tentative, and so hard to formulate, President Roosevelt took both Ickes and Hopkins with him on his trip to the Pacific and the return via Panama. It was a rather clumsy bit of newspaper pleasantry that referred to the President's choice of traveling companions as meant to insure relief policies against disagreement or deadlock in his absence. Mr. Roosevelt could not leave these momentous problems behind him in forgetfulness. His lieutenants accompanied him because there were phases of the problem that could not be postponed, but could well be considered en route.

Haroun Al-Rashid

In the great days of the Caliphate, the one-man idea was universally accepted. There was a succession of caliphs of some renown, but one name stands out in history above all the others—that of Haroun Al-Rashid. He was an open-handed despot, and he ruled the Eastern world with no misgivings whatsoever. He was a contemporary of Charlemagne, who was also a masterful person on his own account in European lands. An available epitome of the career of Haroun Al-Rashid tells us that "no caliph ever gathered around him so great a number of learned men, poets, jurists, grammarians, cadis and scribes, to say nothing of the wits and musicians who enjoyed his patronage."

Which is to say that Haroun in those ancient days had his own Brain Trust, and took care of the white-collar men out of jobs, keeping the artists busy decorating the walls of Bagdad, while the musicians entertained him of evenings. We are also told that he himself was well versed in history, tradition, and poetry, that he possessed taste and discernment, and above all that his winsome demeanor was not only pleasant to all, but made it easier for him to rule Bagdad and a wide realm. If there had been a radio system available, no man would have made better use of it to reassure the Arabian and Islamic world than this same Haroun.

His native biographers, in the Arabic literature, have been unanimous in describing him as noble and generous, and we think they are to be believed. We prefer not to accept the long-subsequent verdict of Euro-

pean writers, like Gibbon and certain German scholars, who try to make us believe that Haroun "was in fact a man of little force of character, suspicious, untrustworthy and on occasions cruel."

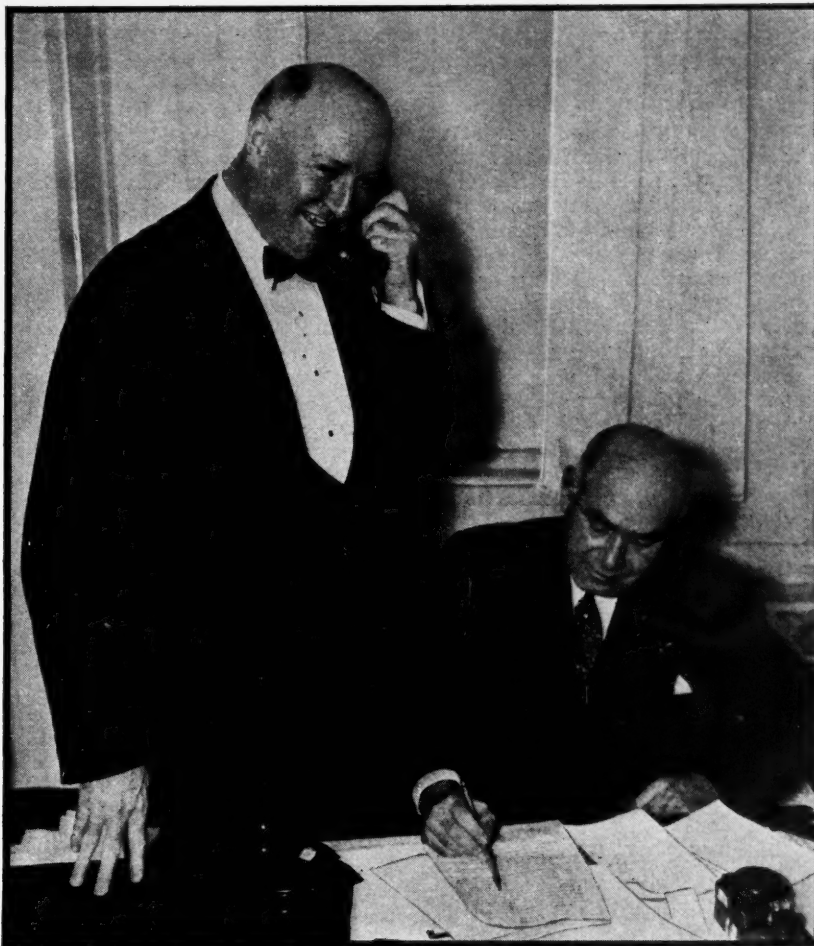
A certain reference book, though admitting the reality of the golden era that Haroun inaugurated, would have us think that toward the end of his administration he had a bad time with his vizier and other cabinet officials and bureaucrats, and also with his near relatives; and that "his other unreasonable acts caused general disorder and rebellion in his realm." But most of us will continue to think of Haroun as the noblest and best of the delightful personages of the Arabian Nights. If it be true that he scattered among the people some part of the revenues that he exacted by one measure or by another, why should we concern ourselves with critical judgments upon his methods as an arbitrary ruler?

We may read much about the tax levies that Haroun imposed upon the wealth of Bagdad, with tributes collected from Constantinople and other places, which brought into his treasury an envied flow of "gold dinars." But we will risk any standing we have among students of monetary statistics when we venture the remark that Haroun's dinars would not have gone very far if matched against the Roosevelt dollars that Harry Hopkins is handing out. We are glad to have the actors, artists, and musicians considered by our dispensers of bounty. The white-collar people are more helpless when out of work than the farm hands and the bricklayers. We do not like to see artists and musicians boondoggling at rough jobs on highways or in sewer trenches, for which they are not fitted.

Haroun to F.D.R.

By all means let us see the modern impersonation of Haroun Al-Rashid in the most friendly and favorable light. Let him get away with the business of the current fiscal year, as well as he can. There should, of course, have been more realization of the toughness of the job at the outset. But we may still hope for the best, realizing that human nature is what it has always been. Mankind had learned very little by experience in the long centuries from the Pharaohs to the Caliphs. Seemingly it has learned nothing very notable in the thousand years or more from Haroun Al-Rashid to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It is clear, however, that the American people are tired of being in a state of "depression". The worst thing that can be said about federal



NEW YORK

Only one President since the Civil War was elected without New York. Farley and Lehman count the votes.

relief as a social influence has to do with an evident decline of the spirit of self-help. When a family is drawing enough money from relief funds to provide food, clothing, shelter and fuel, with all the children going to the best schools, the head of the house is afraid to strike out for himself. His personal efforts or his private job might be less certain and less lucrative than the public dole. He sticks to the government relief list, and loses courage, energy and manhood.

The President decided early in the year that the states must hence-

forth take care of all those within their bounds who belong to the general class of "unemployables". The people of the separate forty-eight states are exactly the same people as those of the aggregated union. They have always heretofore taken care of their own dependent classes. It has been a demonstrated mistake to create federal relief agencies to supersede or compete with the state agencies already existing. As regards the able-bodied workers, the sooner Washington forgets about them the better it will be for everybody concerned.

What Did the Elections Indicate?

The November elections, while local rather than general, were studied keenly by everyone interested in political trends and in the future of parties. As bearing upon the presidential campaign of next year the election of assemblymen in the state of New York had more significance than any other contest last month. If Governor Davey had per-

mitted the people of Ohio to test the present popular strength of the Roosevelt administration, as desired by some Republicans, we should have witnessed a genuine referendum in the election of a Congressman-at-large. A vote in Illinois also would have been indicative, as regards the alleged change of sentiment.

The New York result has been in-

terpreted in several different ways. Republicans are encouraged and Democrats profess to be well satisfied. The aggregate vote for members of the legislature gave the Democrats a majority of something like 400,000, as against a Democratic majority twice as large for Governor Lehman last year. But this proves nothing conclusive as to trends. A true analysis requires a separate study of New York City. In most assembly districts of the metropolis Democrats are always elected, with no serious contest. The falling-off of Democratic totals this year was due in part to the fact that there was no urgent need to bring out the full voting strength of the great city.

North of the metropolitan line, beginning with Westchester County, Republicans and Democrats contended for something more than control of the Legislature. Would the people of the President's own state endorse his New Deal policies? It might fairly be said that in every district, from Yonkers to Buffalo and from Rochester to Elmira and Binghamton, thousands of speeches in the aggregate were made with distinct reference to national politics. Last year Governor Lehman's immense majority was derived almost entirely from New York City, where he received three-quarters of all the votes, with exactly 800,000 plurality. "Up-state", where each of the candidates received a little less than a million votes, Lehman's plurality over Moses in 1934 was about 14,000.

Strategic New York

This year the total of assembly districts outside of New York City gives a Republican majority over the Democratic vote of about 365,000. In the election for Governor last year the national situation was generally emphasized, although not exclusively. Lehman was ardently Rooseveltian, while Moses and the Republicans sharply criticized the New Deal's spendthrift policies. It may be stated without partisan bias that the vote in New York City this year bore little relation to sentiment for or against the Roosevelt administration. The vote "up-state", on the contrary, represented something approximating a definite verdict on the New Deal.

It is never possible to forecast what New York City will do in a presidential election. Tammany trades and bargains up to that last moment; and more than once it has held in its hands the power to swing New York's electoral votes one way or the other, when the New York vote turns the scales and decides the nation's fate. But New York State outside of the metropolis is normal fighting

ground between the parties. The Republicans have regained control of the assembly by a majority of fourteen. More important at the juncture, however, is the fact that the Republican campaign last month was vigorous, and locally decisive. This was even more evident to citizens who were on the ground and close to the contests than to people elsewhere, who read the election figures. Besides assemblymen, there were village, township and county officers elected in great numbers, with the Republican revival too evident to be denied.

In 1928 Mr. Hoover carried New York State against Al Smith, by a vote of 2,194,344 to 2,089,863. This was a majority of about 104,000. In 1932 Hoover lost the state to Franklin Roosevelt by almost 600,000 in a total vote of about 4,600,000. But even in that year of the Democratic landslide Hoover had almost 300,000 votes more than Roosevelt in the state outside of the boroughs of New York City. It was worth while, therefore, to remind readers that the Republican vote of last month in many parts of New York State was fully equal to that of the banner Republican year 1928.

Can the Republicans carry New York next year with a presidential ticket in opposition to Roosevelt and Garner? The answer now depends much more upon New York City than upon the state at large. No one is more acutely aware of this fact than President Roosevelt himself. It is announced that James A. Farley will resign the Cabinet office of Postmaster General after he makes his annual report in January, and will devote himself until next November to his double political job as chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee and chairman of the National Democratic Committee.

Side-stepping in Kentucky

There was also an instructive election in the state of Kentucky. A Democratic feud made Republican victory seem something like a foregone conclusion. The young Lieutenant Governor, A. B. Chandler, had won the favor of Messrs. Roosevelt and Farley. But the retiring Governor, the noted Ruby Laffoon, was not reconciled to Chandler's success in the Democratic primaries. The Republican candidate was Hon. King Swope. Our Ambassador at London, Mr. Bingham, was given a vacation by the President and Secretary Hull, in order that he might direct Mr. Chandler's campaign from the stronghold of his influential newspaper, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*.

As the campaign approached its

climax, the Chandler stock was rising fast and the Republicans seemed to be dragging along without spirit, with many desertions from their ranks. What was the trouble? The answer is clear enough to those who have considered the facts. Chandler was making a bold Democratic pro-Roosevelt, pro-New Deal campaign, with the politically astute Ambassador attending to the lubricants and the fireworks. It would seem that Mr. Swope took a position quite the reverse of that assumed by Republicans in New York State. He dwelt upon local Kentucky matters, hoping to gain votes by side-stepping the national issue. His opponents, meanwhile, were seeking to impress the outside public. Kentucky was the only state that had a governor to elect last month, and the results were expected to have some Democratic party significance beyond the feudal politics of Kentucky.

Nothing so fortunate for the Republicans could have happened as the signal defeat of Swope in Kentucky. If they are capable of learning they will heed the clear lesson. When local nominees refuse to discuss national issues while their opponents are discussing nothing else, the voters of both parties will neglect candidates who side-step and evade.

"Young" Republicans

There are certain western men who are talked about as possible candidates for the presidency, standing in line with all the neighbors in praise of those New Deal policies that flood the trans-Mississippi states with gifts and bounties. The deliberate sectionalism of these policies could not be successfully disputed by any one who investigates the facts. Those who believe in them, and wish them continued, would be fools if they voted the Republican ticket. A presidential candidate who thinks of winning the West by favoring the New Deal, while winning the East by opposing it, should study the Kentucky election last month.

The national policies of the present administration are so much in evidence, as they have invaded every state, county and locality, that they cannot be ignored even in local political contests as their fourth year approaches. Neither can they be called good for the South and far West and bad for the East, or partly accepted and partly rejected. Candidates who try to win office against Democrats bountifully aided by Chairman Farley and enthusiastic for everything that has been initiated by President Roosevelt, are quite certain to fall, and lose the day, if they straddle the political fence.



YOUNG! Leaders at the Des Moines convention of Young Republicans—George Olmsted of Iowa, national president; Senator L. J. Dickinson of Iowa (a guest); and I. Kenneth Bradley of Connecticut.

At Des Moines, Iowa, in the second week of November there was a convention of Young Republicans attended by delegates from most of the states. A "National Young Republican Federation" was formed and organized upon a plan of ten regional districts. This Des Moines meeting was entitled to consideration because of its independent attitude, and the intelligence with which it faced the country's problems. Its adopted formulation of principles is definite and shows no pussyfooting ambiguity. It holds that "there is an American way to solve the problems of these times". It opposes "economic tyranny" as well as "political tyranny". It demands "a prompt balancing of the national budget, and a permanently stabilized currency".

Platform Planks

The first eight of the twelve principles agreed upon are as follows:

- "1. Reduce our national debt.
- "2. Oppose inflation of whatever form.
- "3. Concentrate upon reemployment of the idle by private business.
- "4. Protect the farmer's income under a sound agricultural program.
- "5. Limit governmental projects to essential governmental service, with the emphasis on economy and efficiency.
- "6. Correct the encroachment of

the federal government upon the proper jurisdiction of the states.

"7. Encourage regional compacts between states.

"8. Remove all barriers to international trade not essential to the protection of American living standards and encourage the increase of exports."

The ninth and tenth clauses relate to relief and social welfare. The eleventh demands: "Restore and maintain the separate functioning of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments as prescribed by the Constitution as safeguards against dictatorial and ill-considered judgments." The twelfth denounces unconstitutional legislation, and calls for the maintenance of the American system of government.

It cannot yet be asserted that the country is ready to accept these Young Republican doctrines. The voters may think themselves better off under the personal leadership of Mr. Roosevelt. But at least it might be remarked that unless the Republican party were willing to make an unequivocal stand upon these Des Moines principles the country would quite surely reject its bid for power.

Although the New Deal at present controls the Democratic party as a convenient political mechanism, it cannot be said that the New Deal's law-making, or its administrative structure, has been evolved out of

previous doctrines, platforms, or practical plans of either of the two great political parties. Many of its activities are in accord with the Socialist platform; but in its method of regimentation it has followed more closely the model of fascist Italy and nazi Germany. Doubtless the Washington conception of one-man rule is that of the benevolent, all-dispensing Caliphate, rather than that of the European form of dictatorship.

Personal Ruler?

But Roosevelt was elected on a Democratic platform of the most definite character, for the sole purpose of serving as President of the United States. He was not elected to dominate the land as a personal ruler. The Presidency is as different an affair as possible from the Caliphate of Haroun, or the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. Oliver, indeed, put his Parliament where he thought it belonged, and ruled as he thought best to serve his God and his generation. He threw the British constitution out of the window of the ancient Parliament Hall. It would seem that the issue here is to be clearly drawn.

The question does not turn upon the success or failure of the strange and novel bureaus that have usurped (or expanded) the functions of our constitutional government. That they have failed was clear enough in the

case of NRA, and that the AAA policies—from cotton to wheat and from corn and pork to peanuts and potatoes—have been unsound in economic principle and far worse in application, is a charge that few impartial critics would try to refute. It is true that beneficiaries have responded, in certain corn and hog districts, to the urgings of the administration. They have voted that they would like to continue receiving checks from the Treasury.

But even if these methods were as successful as certain individuals and districts believe, they are at best capricious and arbitrary. In their favoring of groups and classes they are remote from constitutional guarantees against class legislation.

Hoover as Scapegoat

We are publishing an article by John Spargo, who was once a Socialist leader, but is now an advocate of sound financial measures and of government that does not challenge or defy the constitution. Mr. Spargo's reasoning has led him to the conclusion that Herbert Hoover is today the most competent representative of the principles and policies that the Republican party should uphold. Mr. Hoover made a prepared speech before the Ohio Society of New York on November 16. We are publishing (see page 23) some of the points presented by him in that address.

During his four years as President Mr. Hoover was at no time fully supported by Congress in vital situations. During his first two years there was an ample Republican majority in the House of Representatives, but the Senate was controlled firmly by an intensely hostile coalition. The Senate remained thus bitterly anti-Republican during the next two years, while the Democrats with a small but workable majority organized and controlled the House.

Mr. Hoover had been President only about half a year when the financial crash of the early autumn of 1929 precipitated a condition of panic followed by long stagnation of business. There had been over-speculation; but the severity of our reaction was due to Europe's economic collapse, inability to buy our goods, and failure to meet financial obligations. If Congress had accorded Mr. Hoover even a moderate degree of intelligent and loyal support, our worst troubles would have been met and our recovery would not have been so long delayed.

Perhaps it may be said that the chief danger of a democracy like ours lies in its unwillingness to take the trouble to be intelligent. When difficulties arise, an unthinking public

likes to name some conspicuous person or institution as a scapegoat. Sometimes it has been the banking house of Morgan. At certain times it has been John D. Rockefeller. Sometimes it has been Henry Ford, as when the NRA proposed to "crack down" upon that straightforward and law-abiding citizen. But above other contemporaries, Mr. Hoover was singled out as having led us down the path of misfortune. With the constant aid of a publicity machine at Washington that was charged with the odious job of "smearing Hoover," the last Republican President of the United States was stigmatized as blameworthy, and invited to take to the wilderness as scapegoat.

It would indeed be hard to imagine Mr. Hoover as a caliph or a dictator, trying to govern the country on experimental plans of his own (or his *pro-tem* advisers) in blissful disregard of the nature of the federal government and the limits set upon presidential authority. Next November we are to choose a new Congress and a new President. If the country once more elects a large majority of Congressmen pledged in advance to do anything that the President asks, and if at the same time the voters support Franklin D. Roosevelt by majorities similar to those of 1932, it can mean only one thing to thoughtful men and women. It must mean that the country distinctly chooses to have a one-man government.

A Re-elected Roosevelt

The laws would presumably continue to be written for Mr. Roosevelt by Ben Cohen and Thomas Corcoran, with Professor Frankfurter giving general direction. The two houses of Congress would be little more than dummies. The fight against the federal courts, with William Green in a position of leadership, would take the aggressive at once. Without waiting for revolutionary changes in the written Constitution, the Supreme Court could be packed with additional mem-

bers, and brought into subservience to the Executive, as was formerly the case in Mexico and some other Latin-American countries.

Judge Coleman of Baltimore last month declared the Holding Company law too flagrantly unconstitutional to be salvaged in any of its parts. But the processing taxes and the whole machinery of AAA would seem even less defensible than the NRA which the courts suppressed, or the measure against utilities corporations that had not yet gone into effect. There is a right way and a wrong way to deal with things that need correction. In some cases the corporate structure of such industries as that of electric power has been found plainly undesirable.

If there is to be no change in the Administration's conception of its own functions, it is not overstating the case to hold that the Constitution and our form of government are at stake. As Henry Wallace would put it, "America Must Choose". But it is true that Mr. Wallace, along with the President, must also choose. The White House cannot have it both ways. It cannot be constitutional now and then, here and there, giving business an occasional "breathing spell", while it carries on during most of the time as a self-willed Caliphate.

It has been our opinion, hitherto, that the President would turn definitely conservative, like Grover Cleveland, at the safe political moment. But it is hard to see how he can read the Democratic platform of 1932, and his speeches of that year, and then attempt to retrace his steps. Having had such a fling as no one else in America ever enjoyed, how could F. D. R. settle down to the humdrum life of a President under normal conditions? He is never awkward, however, in his turns and changes and he shows no signs of fatigue. He has eliminated the third party menace. He expects to hold the South by double cords (one old and the other new), and to rope the West with the lariat of the best rodeo performer.

New Policies for Canada

The Canadian elections held on October 14 resulted in the success by overwhelming majorities of the Liberal party led by the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. The election was for the Dominion House of Commons. The result was the greatest victory ever achieved by any party in Canada since the Dominion was formed almost seventy years ago. The so-called Tory or Conservative party had been in power for five years, with Hon. Richard B. Bennett as Prime Minister. In all of Mr. Mackenzie

King's remarkable speeches during the campaign he had denounced the Bennett regime as "one-man government".

When the results were known on election night, Mr. King declared that the victory was that of democracy. "It is a direct response," he declared, "to the Liberal protest against all forms of dictatorship, whether they incline toward fascism, socialism, or sovietism, and equally against endless and dangerous experimentation in matters of govern-

ment. . . . It proclaims the end of the super-man idea. It is clear evidence of the desire of the people of Canada to maintain high standards in Canadian public life, and to enjoy a tone in the discussion of public affairs wholly different from that to which, both in and out of Parliament, they have accustomed during the last five years. . . . The results afford the strongest condemnation of the attempts made by the Bennett government to debauch the people with expenditures from the public treasury, and of the efforts made by Mr. Bennett himself to intimidate the electorate through fear, by raising the bogeys of Communism, of the undermining of Canada's industrial standards by unrestricted Oriental and other foreign competition, and of the wholesale destruction which he said would await industry under a Liberal government."

The Liberal party had recently won control of all the provincial governments (except for Alberta, which had been converted to a novel theory of Social Credit under a local apostle named Aberhart), and there was fair prospect that Mr. Bennett's personal government of Canada, along with his own version of a New Deal program, would be swept away in the national polling. As it turned out, the Liberals themselves were surprised when they found they had carried 168 seats in the House of Commons, as against only 41 for Mr. Bennett's party.

Personality vs Principles

During the campaign Mr. King had dwelt upon the point that the Bennett policies were so definitely personal that if the Tory leader himself should be defeated, or should step aside, his New Deal policies would fade away because there was no one else who could take them up in the line of succession. In contrast, he held that the Liberal party was one of principles, and that the Liberal victory was in no wise due to his own personal leadership, or to theories and policies that depended upon any one man for possible success.

Mr. King is everywhere recognized as a capable and broadminded statesman. He is in no sense an opponent of the relationships, chiefly sentimental, between Canada and the British Crown. But he is fully aware that the Canadian people live in North America, where they govern themselves as independently as any nation in the world. Also he realizes that their future is bound up with that of the United States, and that the prosperity of these two democratic confederations is so inter-related that it is essential on both sides of the

boundary line that there should be the largest possible measure of co-operation and good will.

Mutual Benefit

We are not aware of the slightest feeling anywhere on either side of the line that regards political union as a thing that might be beneficial or desirable. A wholesome revulsion has set in against the terrible meddlesomeness of Washington in the affairs of the people of our forty-eight states. It would be beyond endurance for the Canadian people to have our "Yankee" New-Dealers trying to overrun the Canadian provinces with their immature ideas and their mischievous experiments. If they found Mr. Bennett's arbitrary and high-handed rulership too much for their patience, it is not to be supposed that they would tolerate anything resembling the carryings-on at Washington. The sanity they have shown in this test at the polls will help the people of the United States to shake off the absurdities of our own New Deal regimentation.

But political nationalism ought not to make economic nationalism seem a rigid necessity. We have free trade throughout our forty-eight states, and it would have been desirable if this freedom from tariff barriers had always been extended to the corresponding entitles across the line, all the way from the Maritime Provinces to British Columbia. Mr. Mackenzie King did not approve of the Tory im-

perialism that prevailed in the shaping of preference treaties at the Ottawa Conference of 1932. Those treaties, which put our trade with Canada at such great disadvantage, expire in 1937. But if we wish to restore our trade with Canada we must take a generous and far-seeing view. In the working out of Secretary Hull's plan of widening external markets through reciprocal agreements, it is more desirable to make a good arrangement with Canada than with any half-dozen other countries.

Throughout his campaign Mr. King argued strongly for mutual tariff concessions between our two countries, and he was heartily welcomed at Washington when he made a goodwill visit within a month after his election. Our tariff wall against Canada has been, for the most part, the result of narrow and fallacious ideas; and this country as a whole loses by it ten times as much as the particular lobby interests gain that have made that barrier so much too high. On November 11, both Mr. King and President Roosevelt announced that the main points of a tariff treaty had been agreed upon.

Some time before the election Mr. Bennett had selected the historian and novelist, John Buchan, for the post of Governor-General of Canada, the appointment following approval of the British Crown. Mr. Buchan arrived in the Dominion last month, and is doubtless trying to get used to his new title as the first Baron Tweedsmuir.



RECIPROCITY

Mackenzie King, Canada's new Prime Minister (left) pays a visit to Secretary of State Hull.

**NEW YORK**

Conceded that he will carry the South, the Border, and most of the Pacific Coast, the President's chances appear to rest with New York state and the Middle Western farm belt.

SHOULD F.D.R. WORRY ABOUT 1936?

BY RAYMOND CLAPPER

November elections, and the author's western scouting expedition, furnish occasion for an analysis of presidential politics six months before the campaign begins. But F.D.R. is unpredictable.

BARELY six months from now the Republican presidential candidate will have been selected and the national referendum on the New Deal will be at hand. During the interim a number of developments may radically alter the picture as it appears.

What is the situation now? Numerous polls have been and are being taken to satisfy the intense curiosity of the country as to how strong Mr. Roosevelt is today. Scattered elections last month were anxiously scanned for signs which would foretell the future. Everyone is trying to ascertain whether the New Deal is slipping, and if so to what extent. Will it be possible, less than

one year hence, for public sentiment to have reversed itself from the position of 1932 and thereby defeat Mr. Roosevelt?

As barometers, the recent elections gave us a hint or two, although inconclusive ones. In the East they show a recession of Democratic strength—but not a large recession, especially in view of the abnormal gains made by the Democrats in last year's mid-term election.

In August, Rhode Island took one of its seats in the House of Representatives away from the Democrats and gave it to the Republicans.

Last month the Republicans regained control of the New York as-

sembly, thus returning to normal there. However, the popular statewide vote for assemblymen, when totalled, showed that Democratic candidates massed some 360,000 more votes than the Republicans. In Greater New York, the Democratic party piled up pluralities for local candidates which have not been seen since the gay days of Jimmy Walker's reign.

In New Jersey the Democratic organization broke all records in its majorities in Frank Hague's Hudson County stronghold. But downstate Republicans also polled an exceptional vote—which gave them a small statewide majority in the total count



UNDECIDED

AAA payments have given President Roosevelt a large toe-hold in the farm belt. But farmers are asking themselves quite seriously how long Santa Claus will be around after election.

for assemblymen, despite the fact that Hudson County itself registered a larger Democratic plurality than in 1932 when it was able to offset downstate Republican strength and deliver New Jersey for Roosevelt.

In Philadelphia, where Democratic mayors are never elected, the Republicans put their candidate for mayor across by a relatively small margin of less than 50,000 votes. He was not an ideal candidate—in fact he was unable to vote himself because he had voted for Roosevelt in 1932, and was unable to register as a Republican and participate in his own election. Nevertheless, Democrats came within 4,000 votes of carrying Philadelphia in the governorship fight in 1934 so that the vote for mayor last month shows them slightly weaker than a year ago.

How much all of this means when translated into terms of a presidential contest is a matter of doubt. Mr. Roosevelt probably is stronger than his party in upstate New York and weaker than his party in New York City. The state often returns a Democratic governor while voting for a Republican presidential candidate. Last month's elections were for local offices. The national administration was made an issue in various localities, but the voting can be taken only as a loose indication of party strength, and must not be too literally interpreted as an index of Roosevelt strength or weakness.

The most that can be said with

safety about these elections in the East is that perhaps they show that the Democratic party is not quite as strong in this section as it was a year ago, but that the Republicans, despite months of hammering at Roosevelt and the New Deal, failed to demonstrate any landslide strength. In other words, the Democratic party and Mr. Roosevelt are slipping, but at a snail's pace. If the Republicans are to be sure of carrying New York state—which would seem to be vital to victory next year—they must vastly accelerate the momentum of the turning tide.

What Price Kentucky?

The border states gave us one test—again inconclusive in so far as Mr. Roosevelt personally is concerned—in the Kentucky election. The Democratic candidate for Governor, A. B. "Happy" Chandler, won by a majority considerably exceeding that of his predecessor four years ago. He achieved it in the face of a split in his own party in which the present Democratic Governor, Ruby Laffoon, bolted the ticket and announced that he would vote for the Republican candidate. The Republicans did not make the New Deal an issue. On the contrary they kept national Republican anti-New Deal speakers out of the state. The result would seem to indicate that Republicans can have little hope of carrying normally Democratic border states next year.

In the South, not even the most optimistic Republican expects seriously to break through. The only chance was that Louisiana might desert Roosevelt, but Huey Long's death has ended that. The political heirs of the Kingfish are busy now trying to climb aboard the Roosevelt bandwagon as gracefully as they can.

In the Middle West, Mr. Roosevelt appears to continue strong, although there have been no direct electoral tests of his strength. The corn-hog referendum showed some 6 to 1 strength for the AAA. During a recent trip into that territory, prominent Republicans told me privately that—unless sentiment changes materially within the year—they expect Mr. Roosevelt to carry some of the farm states. Evidence is seen in the contention of middle-western Republicans that only a candidate such as Governor Alf M. Landon of Kansas, or someone equally friendly to farm relief, can save that section from losing several states to Mr. Roosevelt.

There is still less concrete evidence of the situation in the far West, and on the Pacific Coast, but a recent trip into that region indicated to this observer that Mr. Roosevelt at the moment is dominant in California, Oregon, and Washington, and in a number of the mountain states.

Summing up: A reasonable assessment of the situation, as nearly as it can be ascertained, would indicate that today Mr. Roosevelt has the

(Continued on page 54)

REPUBLICANS MUST CHOOSE!

BY JOHN SPARGO

The life or death of the Republican party hangs on the 1936 selection of platform and leader. Will courage give way to compromise? Can fundamental issues be evaded at such a time?

International News



Is Herbert Hoover the logical candidate to lead the Republican party to revival or even victory in 1936?

CURRENT discussion of the problem of selecting the presidential standard bearer of the Republican party next year appears to me to be characterized, thus far, by a lack of political realism that is as dangerous as it is remarkable. As I follow the discussion from my listening post in the quiet detachment of a Vermont village, it seems to me that the discussion reveals a state of moral and intellectual drifting, a lack of settled purpose and conviction, in which there is no hope for either party or nation.

The widespread revolt against the Roosevelt Administration, both within the Democratic party and among the people generally, is not an un-mixed blessing to the Republican party. It provides the latter with a wonderful opportunity, but it does not assure the wisdom and courage to seize it and make the best use of it. Unless I am mistaken, the manifest reaction against the Roosevelt Administration has tended thus far to replace the serious thinking and careful analysis induced by the disastrous defeat of 1932 with superficial optimism and its usual results.

These results of superficial optimism include the stimulation of the ambitions of those who, lacking the courage to lead in a fight against odds so great as to preclude reasonable hope of victory, eagerly grasp at the opportunity to ride at the head of an army destined to be victorious. They also include the clamorous counsels of compromise and evasion upon matters of fundamental principle.

These evils go together. They are inseparable. The ugly and indecent squabbles and schisms in the Democratic party aptly illustrate the sure consequences of cheap victory. In 1932, because Democratic victory was clearly inevitable, the Roosevelt

bandwagon was crowded by a host of volunteers whose moral and intellectual weight was as slight as their noise was great. At this moment, when it is evident that Mr. Roosevelt's prestige and popularity are steadily and swiftly declining, and Republican prospects are as steadily and swiftly ascending, there is danger that those who fled and hid in time of disaster and defeat will aspire to lead the victory march. It is so easy to strike heroic poses when the enemy is in flight!

There is abundant justification for the belief that under wise, courageous, and inspiring leadership, the Republican party can win in 1936. There is none for believing that it can win under a leadership lacking those qualities. Greatly weakened as he unquestionably is, Mr. Roosevelt will not easily be defeated. The party needs to realize this and to base its strategy upon the conviction that victory can be attained only if the standard-bearer of the party is strong, courageous, wise, and able. There are those who seem to believe that the revulsion of feeling against Mr. Roosevelt is so great as to be irresistible, and that any candidate named by the Republican National Convention will be elected. That is a foolish and dangerous delusion.

The surging tide of revolt against the Roosevelt Administration must not be regarded as being necessarily a conscious and deliberate preference for the Republican party, a reasoned acceptance of principles and policies constituting the intellectual basis of that party. It may prove to be something quite different, a desperate turning to visionary leaders of the Townsend type, or even to avowedly revolutionary leaders and movements. It is the supreme task of Republican leadership to inspire those who have turned from the New

Deal in disillusionment or disgust with a new hope and restored faith in American institutions and ways.

The greatest of all teachers once addressed to His followers and disciples two great questions: "What shall it profit a man," He asked, "if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" And again: "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Through the ages, those questions have challenged the minds and souls of uncounted millions of men and women.

Pyrrhic Victory?

Essentially the same questions challenge the Republican party today, just as they have challenged political parties in historic crises in the past. Of what real benefit to party or nation would an electoral victory be if obtained by craven compromise, or by dodging the only vital issues? If the revolt against Mr. Roosevelt proved so widespread and great as to permit a mediocre Republican candidate to win by artful dodging of fundamental issues, and truckling to every clamorous group, the party would not gain, but lose. It would be a Pyrrhic victory. It might well mean the end of the party. Moreover, it would imperil the nation and open the way to revolutionary changes beyond present calculation.

Professional politicians are not realists, popular opinion to the contrary. The average politician has only one objective and one standard of judgment. To elect the candidate of his party, honorably if possible, but otherwise if necessary, is the objective. The ability to draw votes from many groups, however divergent their aims and interests, is the standard by which the availability of prospective candidates is judged. We may, without injustice, paraphrase the well-known cynicism of Horace and say that the maxim of the practical politician, so-called, is "Get votes, honestly if possible, but somehow!"

This is the spirit and temper of approach to the task of planning the campaign of 1936, reflected in the counsels of many of our politicians. To oppose Roosevelt they urge the selection of a Republican as like Roosevelt as can be found; one who will be as acceptable as Roosevelt to radicals of every shade and variety; one who will successfully outbid him in appeals to every dissatisfied group, and outmatch him in tergiversation. The ideal candidate, from the point of view of many professional politicians, is a political Blondin, a tight-rope walker, adroitly maintaining his equilibrium over the chasm of repudiation and defeat. He must

HOOVER'S ELEVEN POINTS

THE WASTE of taxpayers' money on unnecessary public works should end.

The administration of relief should be turned over to local authorities. Federal expenditures for relief should be confined to cash allowances to these authorities to the extent that they are unable to provide their own funds.

The spending for visionary and un-American experiments should be stopped.

This horde of political bureaucracy should be rooted out.

The provision of the Constitution requiring that expenditures shall only be in accordance with appropriations actually made by law should be obeyed. And they should be made for specific purposes.

The budget should be balanced, not by more taxes, but by reduction of follies.

The futile purchases of foreign silver should be stopped.

The gold standard should be reestablished, even on the new basis.

The act authorizing the President to inflate the currency should be repealed.

The Administration should give and keep a pledge to the country that there will be no further juggling of the currency and no further experiments with credit inflation.

Confidence in the validity of promises of the government should be restored.

The nation seeks for solution of its many difficulties. It is groping for security from economic storms and from individual poverty. But economic security, social security, or any other security cannot be found without restoring these primary policies of government.

These matters are no abstractions. They are not theoretical questions of academic debate. They are the invisible forces which surround every American fireside. They determine the happiness of every American home. In their rightful direction lies the safety of these homes and the fruition of their hopes. They determine the welfare of our children and the progress of our nation.

—From Mr. Hoover's Ohio Society address, November 16, 1935

promise reduction of taxation to those who stagger beneath the crushing burden of governmental extravagance, while at the same time promising to support the demands of every group bent on raiding the treasury. By equivocal speech he must satisfy Southern cotton growers that the processing taxes of which they are the beneficiaries will be continued and, of course, increased. At the same time he must equally satisfy New England textile workers that the processing taxes will be abolished. He must attack the New Deal when addressing its foes, and praise it when addressing its supporters.

Call this attitude cynicism, or hypocrisy, or whatever else you choose, except realism. Such a campaign, even if it results in the election of the presidential candidate, can never bring real strength or power to the party. The compromises, contradictions, and evasions of the campaign must enmesh their creature, the President, and make him impotent at best and an object of mingled pity and scorn. From the point of view

of the national good, such an election would be a calamity.

Almost alone of nationally known Republican leaders, Mr. Franklin Fort of New Jersey has spoken realistically. With admirable courage and wisdom, he declared recently that the Republican party can better afford to be defeated in a bold and uncompromising fight for principle, led by a courageous and unflinching leader, than to win the election by sacrificing principle and compromising with the evils that are undermining the republic. Such an attitude commands respect. It is capable of inspiring enthusiasm and faith by which men and women become crusaders. The youth of this nation, its generous impulses eagerly alert and ready to serve high and noble purposes, can be enlisted under the banner of a party that has the courage to dare to be uncompromisingly right and to scorn compromise for the sake of votes. That, ladies and gentlemen of the Republican National Committee, of the state committees, and all other committees and

conventions of the Republican party, is the realistic way of approach to the problem whose solution is at once your task and your privilege!

The petty tricksters of politics who masquerade as statesmen and leaders rely upon the weakness and folly of human beings, and take no account of finer and nobler qualities. They hold lightly, even to the point of disdain and contempt, the view that the American people can be roused to exert their greatest might only by appealing to those finer and nobler qualities. Against such degrading unfaith, I assert the profound conviction that the more exalted the idealism with which the Republican party enters the campaign of 1936, the firmer its defense of the great principles of constitutional government with its liberties and rights, the more uncompromising its condemnation of, and resistance to, the essential features of the Roosevelt Administration, the greater its strength will be and the better its chances of victory.

No Democratic Party

It requires no great prescience to forecast the strategy of the Roosevelt forces. I do not say the strategy of the Democratic party, for quite obvious reasons. If the Democratic party recovers from its stunning betrayal by Mr. Roosevelt and his followers, and becomes once more master of its own destiny, Mr. Roosevelt will not be its candidate. If he is the candidate against whom the Republican candidate has to contend, that will be sure evidence that the Democratic party, betrayed, is still helplessly bound and chained. But, assuming that Mr. Roosevelt is renominated, the main features of his campaign will be these:

First, he will claim that during the latter half of the administration of President Hoover the old social order, which was fundamentally unjust and oppressive, became so rotten and bad that its crash in ruins was inevitable. The Republican party by its policies during more than a decade, but particularly under Hoover, championed and defended those iniquitous, unjust, and oppressive features of the old order which the masses found intolerable. Hoover, like Coolidge and Harding before him, failed to protect the people against injustice and oppression. Not only that, but the Hoover Administration failed to avert the disastrous crash that came as a result of failure to institute reforms of the system in time.

Second, Mr. Roosevelt will claim that the program that was adopted by the Democratic National Convention in 1932, to which he subscribed in good faith and honor, was formulated

without knowledge of the impending crash. That the bank crisis, which took place on March 4, 1933, and that brought the ominous threat of revolution, so that all could hear "the tramp of revolution in the air", made necessary some radical departures from the promises and pledges in the Democratic platform. Thus Mr. Roosevelt will place himself before the country as the Man of Destiny, misrepresented as the breaker of promises and violator of solemn pledges, whereas he merely met the challenge of a great and unforeseen emergency, compelled against his will to defer fulfillment of promises and pledges until the immediate peril was overcome.

Third, Mr. Roosevelt will point to indisputable evidences of a not inconsiderable amount of recovery from the worst of the long economic depression. He will point to the evidence of business revival, lessened unemployment, increasing confidence. Naturally, he will claim that this progress toward recovery was made possible by him, that it could not have been brought about except by the program he initiated and executed. He will contrast this performance, so beneficial in its results, with what he will present as the record of the complete failure of Mr. Hoover.

Fourth, Mr. Roosevelt will deny that he has at any time entertained any thought of destroying or subverting the Constitution. He will insist that the measures which the Supreme Court found to be unconstitutional were, in the first place, emergency measures which would not have been enacted under other and less pressing conditions. Further, he will contend that they were fairly presumable to be constitutional, and would have been so held by more liberally minded jurists than happened to be in the majority in our greatest tribunal. Finally, he will assert that revision of the Constitution is necessary to meet new conditions; that provisions fitted to the horse-and-buggy days of our development are not suited to our highly mechanized civilization.

Fifth, Mr. Roosevelt will renew, in all their essential features, the promises that he made in 1932. Once more he will adopt the language of moderate liberalism and generous humanitarianism. Once again he will depict himself as the humanitarian striving not for revolutionary changes, but for the reforms which avert revolution, opposed by short-sighted Tories and obscurantists. At the same time he will resort to every trick of verbal dexterity to make the same words full of hope and assurance to the conservative upon the one hand and to the radical upon the other. His ambiguous locutions will mean

both yea and nay. The very words hailed by the conservative as a recantation, with implied promise of reform, will be hailed by the wistful near-communist as an affirmation, with implied rededication to the revolutionary ideal.

Against the background furnished by this forecast of the Roosevelt campaign for re-election, let us consider the broad question of rational Republican strategy. Let us consider it, not as upholders of this man or opponents of that man, nor as advocates of any special interest, sectional or occupational; but as patriotic Americans who believe that the Republican party is challenged to defend and preserve the American heritage. Let us face the issue in a spirit of stark realism, resolved to be guided by factual data, not driven by emotion.

Always the Attack!

The bolder the attack of the Republican party upon every important and distinguishing feature of the Roosevelt Administration, the greater the chances of success. Unless the party leaders base their strategy upon that conviction, they will invite and practically assure defeat. Worse than mere party defeat, moreover, would be the strengthening of the most dangerous forces arrayed against our constitutional system with its assured liberties and rights. The only campaign worthy of a great party, in the most momentous crisis the nation has faced since the Civil War, is one conceived and conducted in the spirit of a great crusade. That is the genuinely realistic view.

There are those who counsel the opposite course. They would have the Republican party go before the people in 1936 as a penitent reformed. They would confess that under Coolidge and Hoover the Republican party was reactionary, the protector of plutocracy and privilege. They would admit that by their sins of commission and omission the three Republican Administrations following the World War, and especially of President Hoover, contributed to the making of the worst economic crisis in our history.

As befits men of such contrite hearts, these Republicans would treat the New Deal with gentle consideration. While admitting that mistakes have been made, precisely as the admission is made by New Dealers themselves, they would concede that the New Deal has done much good. They would refrain from anything like harsh denunciation of the assaults upon the Constitution, direct and indirect, holding, as Mr. Roosevelt himself does, that they were justified by the seriousness and

magnitude of the emergency. Thus they would bring into the campaign the spirit that characterized the demoralized, cowed, and bewildered Republican minority in Congress in the spring of 1933, when in their fright and dismay Republicans vied with Democrats in haste to surrender legislative powers to the executive, in violation of the Constitution both in letter and spirit.

To such a puling apologia, conceived in shame and nurtured by servility, these gentlemen would append a hodge-podge program of allegedly progressive measures and principles to which they would have the party commit itself. They would try the old trick and steal Mr. Roosevelt's thunder, just as he stole the thunder of the Socialists. Surely never before in the history of American politics were counsels equally inept and puerile, offered by men seriously regarded as leaders in a major party!

Republican victory in 1936 is possible. Within the present century the party has never faced more hopeful and encouraging prospects. But in order to achieve victory in the coming struggle it must become a militant body, aggressively fighting for ends that are understood and approved by the masses, and that are great enough and vital enough to inspire devotion and sacrifice. Timid and vacillating leaders afraid to fight, and compromisers and bargainers who have traded Republican principles for personal political advantage and security, must be pushed aside. In their places must be set leaders eager and ready to fight, men who have remained undeviating and uncompromising in their loyalty to Republican principles throughout the crisis, Captains Courageous, invincible in their faith.

Liquidate Roosevelt

The program of the party must be a clear and unmistakable antithesis to the madcap medley of hysterical romanticism and bad economics with which the present Administration has blighted the life of the American people. The nation must be made to understand and believe that Republican victory will mean the liquidation of the mass of Rooseveltian experimentation and innovation as rapidly as this can be accomplished with safety. The vital principle of the campaign must be a determined purpose to unite the patriotic and intelligent citizens of this nation by a common resolve to restore the American system of constitutional government, and to redeem its honor among men and nations. The covenanted obligations of the United States, shamefully and flagrantly repudiated

by the Roosevelt Administration, should be restored and placed beyond the possibility of further dishonoring. That vital separation of governmental functions into three coördinate but independent branches, which was the greatest contribution of the founders of the nation to the cause of enduring liberty, broken down by Roosevelt, must be restored by his Republican successor.

A Leader Needed

To lead a party committed to such high purposes we must not choose a mediocrity. If any one of six or eight men whose names have been suggested with apparent seriousness should be chosen as presidential candidate of the Republican party, thoughtful and patriotic citizens may as well fold their hands in resignation and accept the collapse and moral bankruptcy of that party as accomplished facts.

Other names suggested command more respectful consideration. There are three or four men whose names are mentioned in almost every discussion of the subject, names spoken with respectful admiration in thousands of earnest conversations. If the mistake is made of nominating a man too small for the job, it will not be because bigger and abler men are not available. The Republican party today is as rich in men of high intellectual ability, united to wide experience and unsullied reputation, as at any time in its history.

Outside of the utopian commonwealths that exist only in the fertile imaginations of their literary creators, it has never yet been possible to exclude from any political party the elements of selfishness, personal ambition, and petty jealousy which enter into every large association of human beings, no matter what its object. Were it otherwise, were it possible to exclude these and other human frailties from the Republican party, so that every member of it would scorn to consider anything except manifest superiority of ability, the choice of the party's standard bearer in 1936 would be simple indeed. The selection of Herbert Hoover, in such circumstances, would be inevitable and practically unanimous.

That Mr. Hoover is by far the ablest and best qualified exponent of the ideas and ideals of liberal Republicanism, as well as the keenest and most devastating opponent of Rooseveltian New Deal policies, that the Republican party has, cannot be gainsaid. It is hardly open to serious doubt. That the vast majority of the rank-and-file of the party holds this opinion I am thoroughly convinced.

During the past seven or eight months I have questioned more than

450 men and women upon this subject. About one-third of the questioning was done by correspondence, the other two-thirds orally, in private conversation. While I grant that the number of persons questioned is much too small to warrant any claim that they must be presumed to constitute a fair sample of the entire electorate, the consensus of replies has impressed me greatly.

Rather more than one-half of those questioned live west of Chicago. About one-fourth of the whole number is classified as wage-earners and working farmers. Another fourth, classified as business men, comprises approximately equal numbers of merchants, bankers, and corporation executives. Another fourth is made up of professional men, lawyers being the largest unit, preachers the next largest, doctors the third largest, writers and college professors making up the balance. All those questioned regard themselves as Republicans. They habitually vote the Republican ticket in state and national elections, though 46 acknowledged voting for Roosevelt in 1932.

Surprising Unanimity

To the question "Who in your opinion is the ablest Republican spokesman living and active today?", all the replies except 7 named Mr. Hoover. That is to say that out of a total of 453 persons answering the question, 446 named the former President as the party's ablest living spokesman now in active service.

The second question was more involved. I asked: "Who in your opinion would the Republican party name as its candidate for the presidency in 1936 if it considered only (a) ability to present the case of the party, both affirmatively in advocacy of its own program and negatively in criticism of the Roosevelt Administration; (b) acknowledged fitness for the office, if and when elected?" In each case I asked the person questioned to be as objective as possible, to eliminate from consideration everything except the two tests stated in the question.

To this question 409 persons out of 453 named Mr. Hoover. The other 44 preferences were distributed rather evenly among half a dozen of those whose names are included in practically every discussion of the subject. Clearly, in this group of Republicans, varied in their occupational interests and experiences, their culture and social status, and widely distributed geographically, Mr. Hoover holds a commanding position of acknowledged leadership. The question at once arises whether, and to what extent, the judgment of that group is representative of the judgment of the mass of Republicans?

No man can answer that question with precision and finality. It is my personal opinion, submitted for what it is worth, that the judgment of the group would receive the concurrence of an overwhelming majority of the men and women who normally support the Republican party in national elections. I am fortified in that opinion by the increasing manifestations of popular admiration for Mr. Hoover whenever his picture is shown in the motion picture theatres. From every part of the country reports have come to me that when Mr. Hoover's picture appears in the news-reels, it is greeted with applause much greater than is accorded to any other American, not excepting President Roosevelt. It is a common occurrence for the picture of the President to be received in silence, and for that of Mr. Hoover to be greeted by considerable applause. Surely the fact is not without significance.

Defeatism

Now I come to a phase of the subject difficult to discuss satisfactorily, but too important to be passed over in silence. Among the 409 persons who named Mr. Hoover as the best candidate the Republican party could name in 1936, there were 89 who added to their reply the statement "but he cannot be nominated". There were 36 others who said "he cannot be elected". In other words, nearly one-third of those who favored Mr. Hoover's nomination felt that he could not be nominated and elected.

It would be idle to pretend that this note of defeatism is not common. It appears in every discussion of Mr. Hoover's relation to the campaign. Talk with the first dozen Republicans you chance to meet anywhere. There is better than an even chance that ten of them will name Mr. Hoover as the best man the party could name, but that three or four will add the gloomy opinion "but he cannot be elected". There is associated with Mr. Hoover's name at the present time a certain amount of defeatist fatalism, perhaps not entirely spontaneous, but carefully propagated for their different purposes by Democrats on the one hand and by certain Republicans on the other.

I asked the men who told me that they thought Mr. Hoover could not be nominated to tell me why they thought so. Of the 89 no less than 56 gave as their reason the dislike of Mr. Hoover by "Wall Street" and "big business". The others based their opinion upon the belief that the political bosses don't like Mr. Hoover. In no single instance was any personal characteristic or fault in the man himself suggested.

The 36 men who expressed the

opinion that Mr. Hoover could not be elected, if nominated, were asked two questions: "If he should be nominated, would you vote for him yourself and support him in the campaign to the best of your ability?" and "What is your principal reason for believing that he could not be elected, whereas another Republican might be?" One man refused to answer the first question. The other 35 all replied in the affirmative. To the second question, 17 gave antagonism of political bosses to Mr. Hoover as their reason; 9 expressed the belief that powerful financial groups that have always opposed Mr. Hoover would continue to do so, or at least refuse to give him the support they would give to any other Republican candidate; 3 named opposition by organized groups like the farmers and the ex-soldiers; 3 gave their opinion that psychological effects of the 1932 defeat would prove an insurmountable obstacle. Of the remaining 4, 2 gave "lack of personal magnetism" as their reason, while 2 based their belief upon a frankly cynical view of the electorate. "He is a statesman, but only a politician can beat Roosevelt and Farley", said one. "Too intellectual to suit a nation reared on ballyhoo" was the comment of the other.

The 46 Republicans who voted for Mr. Roosevelt in 1932 were asked two questions: (1) "Would you vote for Roosevelt again?" (2) "Would you vote for Hoover against Roosevelt?" To the first question 39 answered no; 3 answered yes; 2 answered "doubtful" and 2 declined to answer. To the second question the same 39 that answered the first question in the negative replied yes; 4 answered no; 3 did not answer.

That certain powerful financial groups were never friendly to Mr. Hoover is not news. But the financial interests which opposed Hoover in 1932 seem to have sown the wind to reap the inevitable whirlwind. What most interests me is the fact that, in the group to which the experimental inquiry was limited, the element of defeatist psychology present had its roots in no serious criticism of Mr. Hoover, but instead in serious shortcomings and defects of certain groups regarded as politically important.

In 1932 Mr. Hoover was supported by some 16,000,000 voters in round numbers. Probably no other candidate the party could have put forward at that time would have commanded anything like that volume of support under the conditions that prevailed. To have stood by him in the face of the mass hysteria of the time, those 16,000,000 men and women must have had invincible faith in Mr. Hoover, in his ability and integrity. With the passage of time there has been a steady recovery from the hys-

teria and panic of 1932, and as the futility of the New Deal and its menace have been revealed, most of those who deserted Mr. Hoover in 1932 to follow Mr. Roosevelt have repented, some openly, but more secretly.

Thus, Mr. Hoover is much more popular today than he was when he left the White House. Men and women of every class and every section of the country have realized that quite as surely as Mr. Roosevelt's glibly uttered promises have been unfulfilled, the grave forecasts by Mr. Hoover of what must result from the New Deal experiments have been fulfilled to an extent that is almost uncanny. Not Mr. Roosevelt's promises and pledges, but Mr. Hoover's forecasts and warnings, bear close resemblance to the record of the Administration, to date.

Party Morale Up?

Moreover, during the past year, the strong and courageous leadership of Mr. Hoover has been the greatest single factor in restoring the morale of the Republican party. Morally and intellectually his utterances have surpassed those of any other spokesman of the party, inspiring hope and faith and courage. His speech to the Young Republicans of California, for example, has not been equalled. It was cogent, unanswerable, bold and inspiring. It laid the foundations for a crusading campaign to enlist the youth of the nation.

These are some of the reasons which seem to me to indicate that the standard of the Republican party in the campaign of 1936 should again be entrusted to Mr. Hoover. The leaders of the Democratic party and of the New Deal fear the choice of Mr. Hoover as Republican candidate more than they fear anything else. No one at all familiar with the game of politics is deceived by the bluff and bluster of the Roosevelt aides who profess to desire the selection of Mr. Hoover by the Republicans, on the theory that he would be the easiest of the possible candidates to defeat. Declarations by Mr. Farley and Senator Robinson to this effect deceive only those of childlike innocence. The truth is that the nomination of Herbert Hoover by the Republican National Convention would be regarded as a major disaster by the high command of the New Deal.

On the other hand, the nomination of Mr. Hoover would bring to millions of Republicans and other millions of politically independent men and women boundless inspiration. Under his leadership, they would go into the conflict in 1936 with enthusiastic pride and the indomitable will to conquer.

WHITHER THE AMERICAN CARTOONISTS?

American neutrality concerns our local pen-pushers more than rights and wrongs of the Ethiopian and the Anglo-Italian controversies.



LIES

By Enright, in the New York American
Uncle Samuel had better not listen to lies of war propagandists, as he did before entering the World War. By this time he is wise.



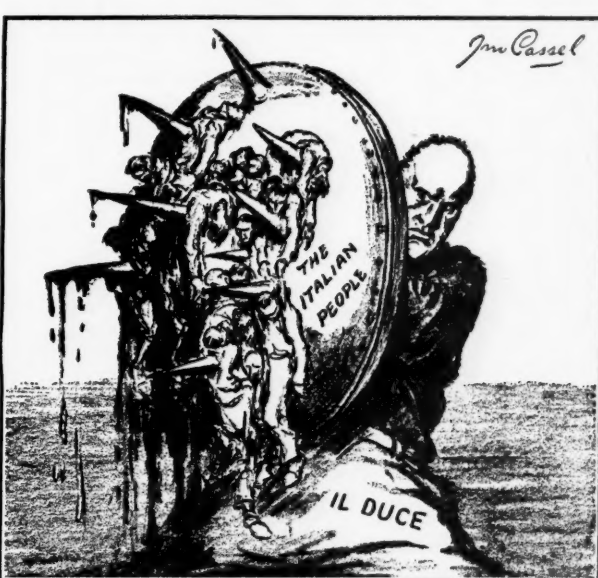
SAFETY?

By Thomas, in the Detroit News
International munitions rackets and contraband trade-profiteers make your Old Uncle's neutrality island risky.



SOCK

By Herblock, for N.E.A. Service ©
General Hugh Johnson takes a crack at that old devil, the New Deal, with the seeming approval of the conservative cartoonist.



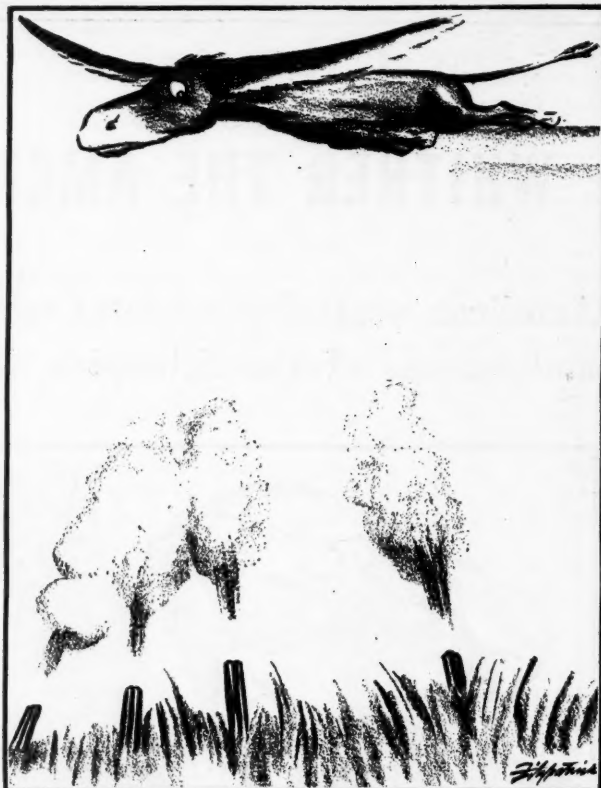
DUCE

By Cassel, in the Brooklyn Eagle
To save his face, Benito Mussolini is using the Italian people as a most convenient shield. How long, how long—?



HENS

By Darling, in the New York Herald Tribune
Should Uncle Sam give up his precarious seat on the business nest, in favor of the old capitalist mother hen? Perhaps.



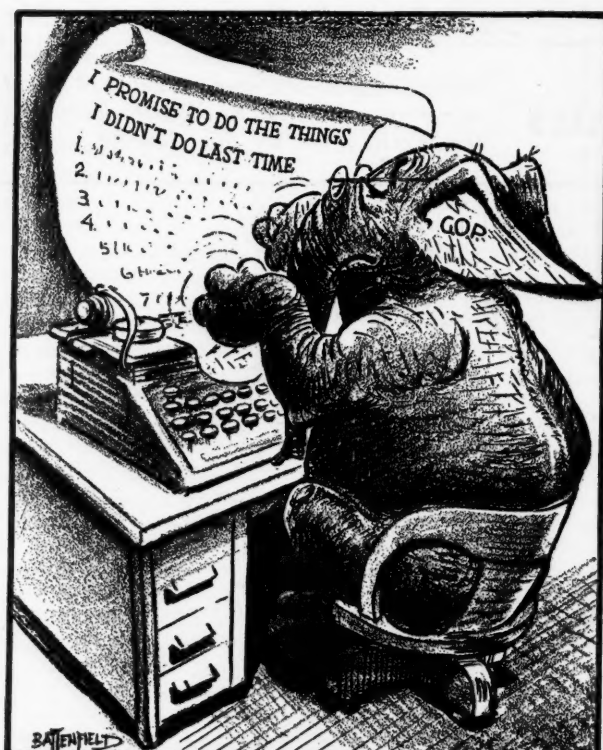
BANG!

By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
This is the open season for hunters, and the Democratic donkey on the wing is chief victim of their murderous intent.



TAXISM

By Hanny, in the New York American
Taxes, high and heavy, are pressing down relentless-like on wages of labor and profits of industry to their ruin (?)



SO WHAT?

By Battenfield, in the Chicago Times
Good resolutions are always interesting reading, and fine to listen to, but sometimes they are made too late.

IL DUCE AND THE BULLMEN



From the Glasgow Times (Scotland)

BURGLAR

League of Nations policeman: "I do so hate to interrupt you, but do you mind telling me how much you'll accept to stop cracking that Ethiopian safe?"



From the Herald (London)

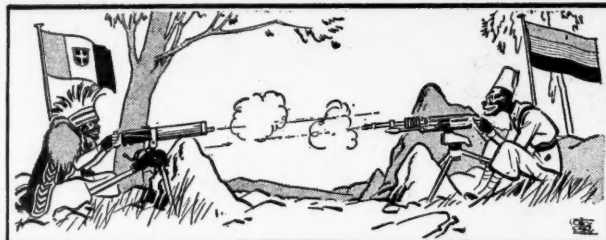
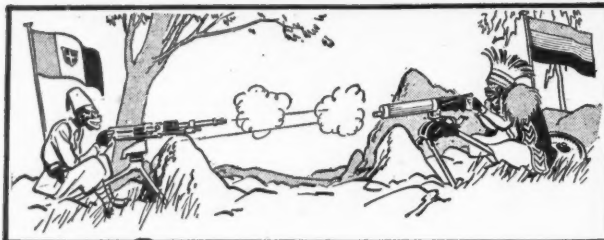
"We have avenged the Italians slaughtered at Adowa in 1896. Now we can avenge those killed there in 1935!"



From Le Rire (Paris)

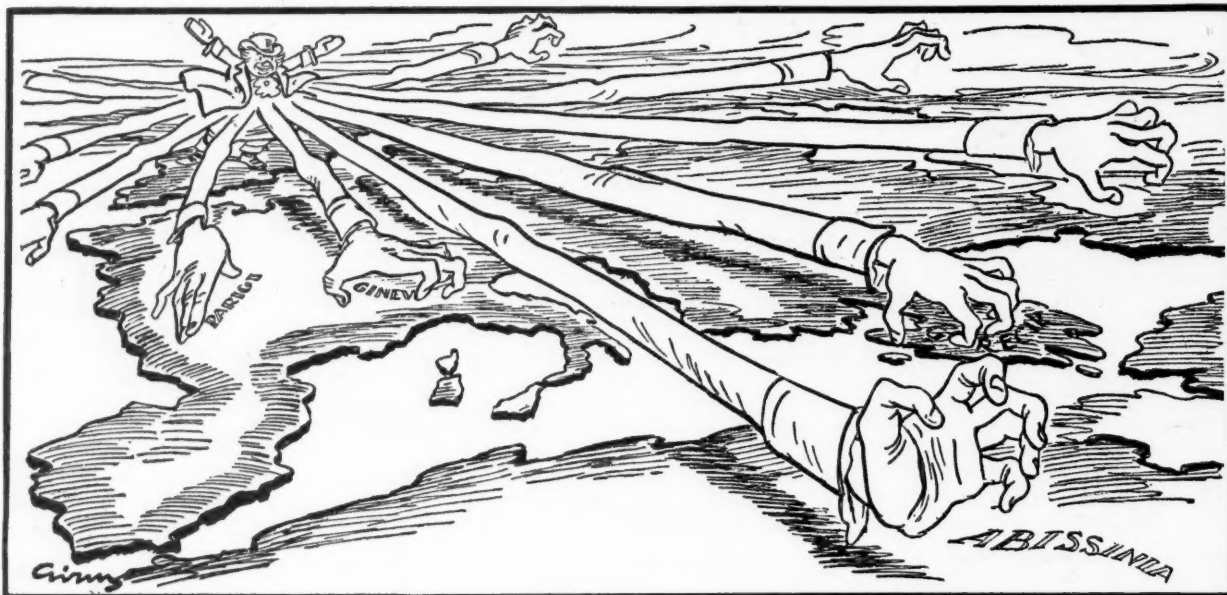
J. BULL

Can John Bull, lord of the seven seas, take the measure of Italy's great big duke, who seems very scornful in the French cartoon? England has shipped some 150 battleships to the Mediterranean; Italy has a local aerial supremacy, with speedboats and submarines. Much can happen.



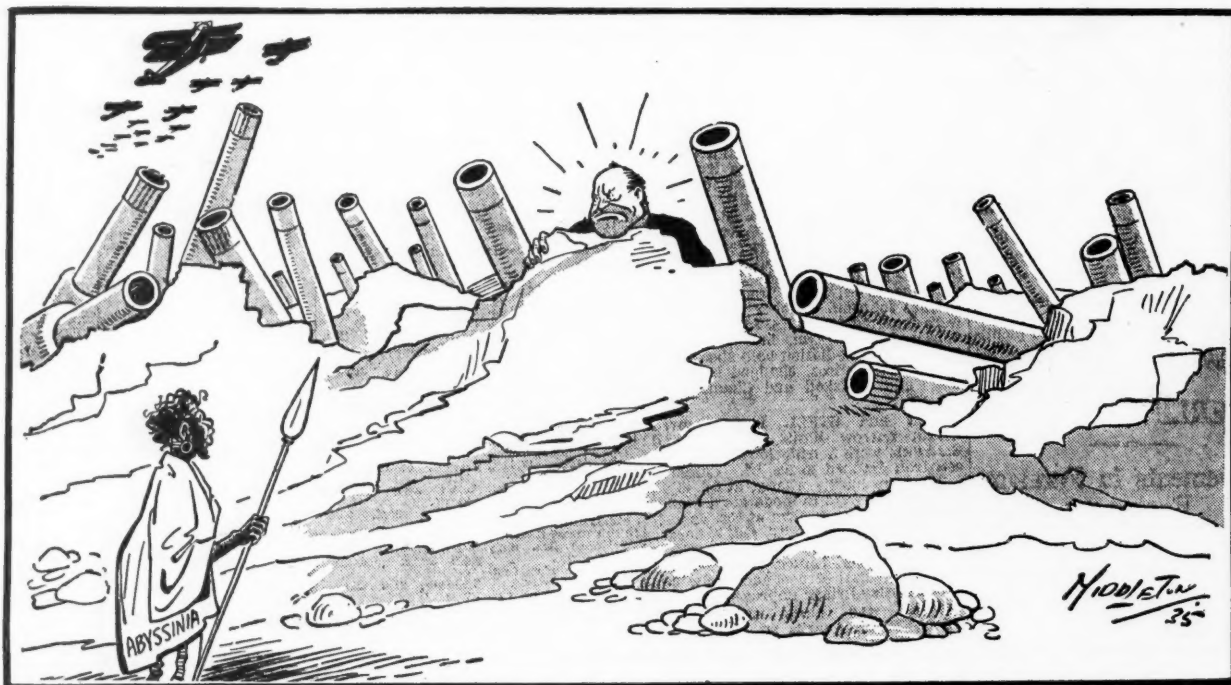
DESERTERS

From the Glasgow Record (Scotland)
Italy uses unhappy blackskins from Eritrea and Somaliland against Ethiopia. Ethiopia uses unhappy blackskins against colored conscripts of Italy. Each deserts to the other.



GRABS

From the Milan Guerin Meschino (Italy)
Johnny Bull seizes everything in sight from force of habit, says the Italian press. Above graphic picture gives you a rough idea of his methods, which seem to apply over the lands and seas.



DANGER?

From the Birmingham Gazette (England)
It seems that Mussolini was attacked by a dangerous Ethiopian, and was forced into a war of defense against dusky aggression. Here is the frightened Italian duke all entrenched.



From Le Rire (Paris)

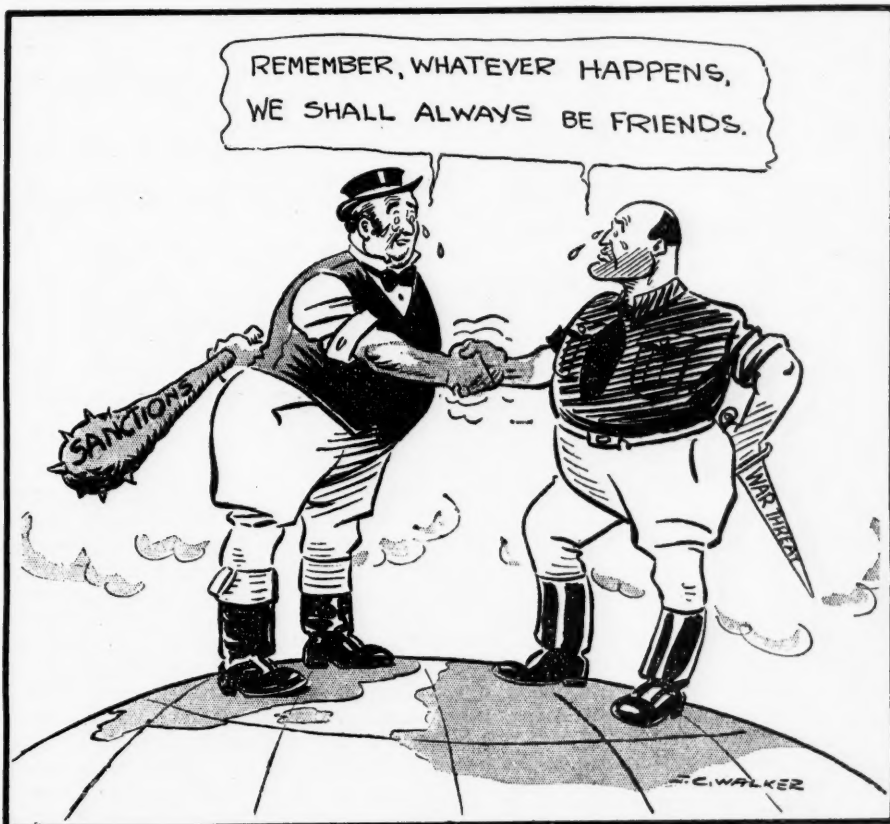
- (1) Italy views H. Selassie.
- (2) The League views him.
- (3) Prevalent English view.



From the Glasgow Times (Scotland)

KAISER

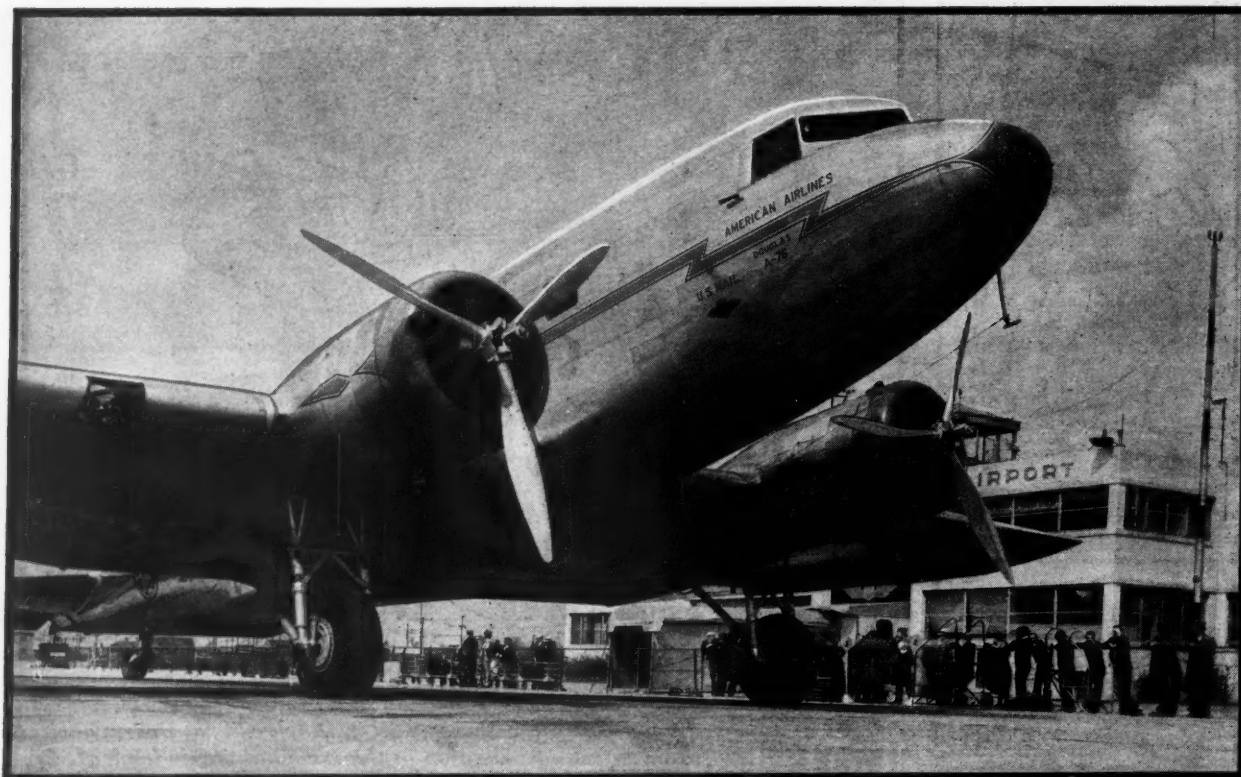
The former German emperor, still in Dutch exile at Doorn, advises Mussolini to get a reservation in the same hospitable land. Italy's duke is acting kaiserlike, and such a tip may be good for him.



From the Cardiff Echo (Wales)

BLUFF

John Bull and Benito exchange polite diplomatic greetings, one to another, while each conceals an effective weapon behind his back: sanctions and war-threats. Such is the nature of world diplomacy.



ON SCHEDULE *Some 3000 passengers fly over national airways every 24 hours, half being done at night. More than 850,000 passengers flew safely during the first 10 months of 1935.*

Just how safe is flying today? Look ahead into 1936 with the editor of the Aircraft Year Book. Ocean and stratosphere flights may soon be quite as commonplace as our transcontinental air travel is today

NEW THINGS IN AVIATION

BY HOWARD MINGOS

OUT OF PORTS on both sides of the United States trained crews are now operating ocean flying boats which, if you were to step up and buy one at the factory, would cost half a million dollars. But those are baby ships compared to the flying craft now being laid out on the drafting boards of the engineers in no less than five of our aircraft plants, the same engineers who have been responsible for many of our most amazingly successful planes during the last ten years. These new flying boats will cost upward of one million dollars to build. Some of them may cost two millions, and they will be almost as big as Navy destroyers.

The next great stunt in aviation, great in its appeal to a sensation-loving

public, probably will be an airplane flight from New York to London and return across the Atlantic without stopping. In a reputable airplane plant on the eastern seaboard a machine capable of making such a flight is well into the planning stage.

Equally astonishing, and much less of a stunt, will be the first sub-stratosphere flight across the continent with a big load of passengers at a speed of nearly five miles a minute. They will be comfortably housed inside a hermetically sealed cabin, breathing air of normal sea-level density while they traverse virtually empty space, because they will be out of sight of the earth most of the time. Such a machine, larger than any land plane ever built,

has already passed the planning stage and is awaiting construction in one of our oldest aircraft plants.

The next milestone in the rapid progress of practical everyday flying will be a sleeper service between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, with 16 passengers tucked away in comfortable berths while they speed across the continent in a single night at three and a half miles a minute, in about 12 hours from coast to coast. The American Airlines system has ordered a whole fleet of these ships, and they are now under construction at the plant of the Douglas Aircraft Company at Santa Monica, Calif. When operated as daylight planes the huge transports will carry 32 passengers.

As this is written, practical business men from both sides of the Atlantic, all internationally known for their successful operation of some of the world's greatest air transport systems, are holding daily conferences in New York. They are completing arrangements to link together a few of the long-haul air lines in a scheduled trans-world service which will let one buy a single ticket and fly all the way around this earth. This does not mean that such a service will be owned by one company under one flag; but it will be the same so far as the passenger is concerned. The lines will connect schedules and handle passengers, mail, and express as if they were a single unit. There are practical men in aviation who believe that within the next five years a round-the-world-in-a-week trip will be as commonplace as transcontinental air travel today.

Just how commonplace is transcontinental flying travel? More than 70 per cent of the available passenger seats are filled on the coast-to-coast trips of the three transcontinental systems. Sometimes all seats are filled for days at a time, and nights, too. North-and-south traffic varies with the seasons, but it is heavy enough to warrant the lines putting on more planes every few months.

In July of this year the air lines of the United States, including the Pan American Airways System with its service to all important centers south of the United States, carried more than 91,000 passengers as compared to 50,000 the same month a year ago. That increase of 82 per cent in passenger traffic was accompanied by a 93 per cent increase in air express and a 63 per cent increase in air mail. The average passenger trip was more than 400 miles.

At the present time 3,000 passengers, 20 tons of mail, and 9 tons of express are being flown every twenty-four hours on the average; and nearly half of this flying is done at night.

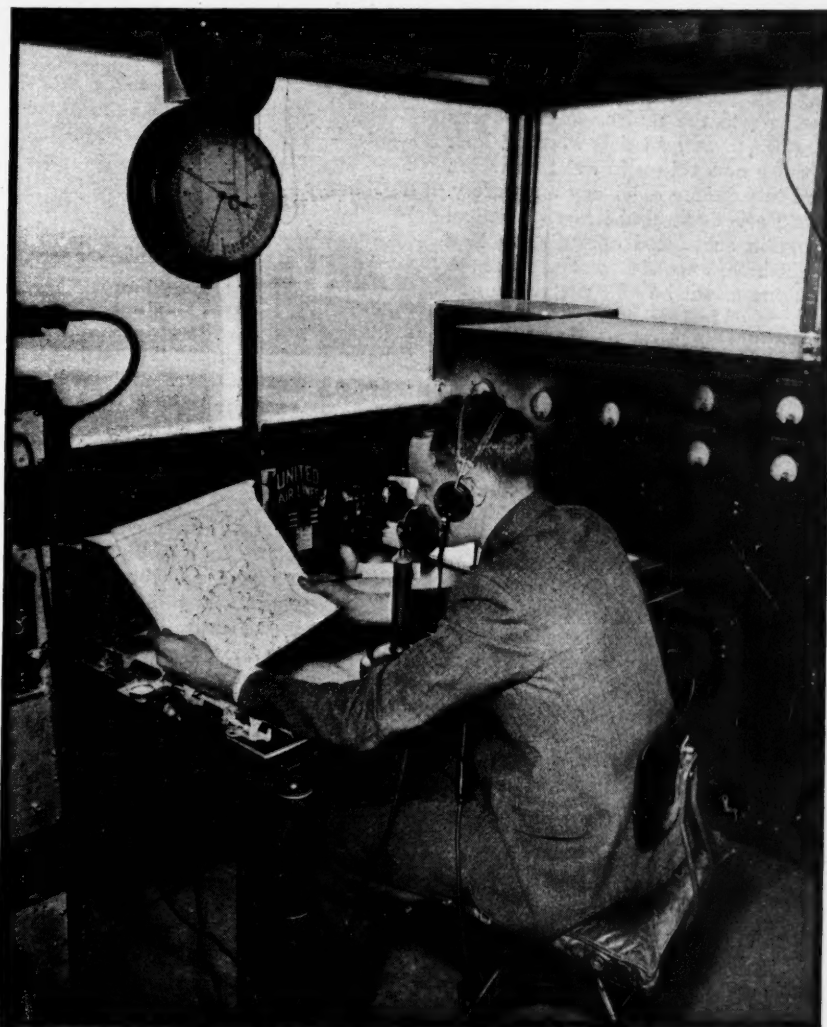
How safe is it? Well, there are 22 separate air lines operating inside the United States. Some are better than others in point of experience and equipment. Some of the best air lines have accidents. Despite every precautionary measure, and these measures are thorough, accidents occur. During the first 10 months of 1935 there were four accidents, in which fifteen passengers were killed.

Approximately 850,000 flew safely, during that same period, over our air line systems. Some would say that this is a very good record for safety. Others might say no; that not even one bad accident should have occurred. With that the average air line executive will agree. From experience he knows that the airplane is inherently safe, that



COMFORT

Five miles a minute in sealed cabins, breathing air of sea-level density, is almost a reality. It is not far off.



SAFETY

A United Air Lines radio dispatcher checking weather reports to inform pilots in flight of the conditions ahead.

bad accidents should not ever happen.

He knows, this man who is running an air line, that instruments, weather-reporting service, and—let us be frank about it—the personnel have required development. There is comfort in the fact that air line travel has been growing much safer every year, more reliable, more comfortable, and more efficient from the viewpoint of speed. It is twice as fast as it was only four years ago. One now flies day and night on an uninterrupted trip. A forced landing, delay, any kind of halt in the service is a matter for comment, investigation, and attempt at correction.

A Splendid Record

Thus we are inclined to treat with respect the official figures of the U. S. Bureau of Air Commerce showing that during the first ten months of 1935 some 450 planes in regular air line service here in the United States made trips day and night between approximately 200 cities on 30,000 miles of lighted airways. They flew about 35,000,000 miles, all told. Four of those planes met with accidents bad enough to kill some of their passengers.

Improved service on the air lines is important because it connotes progress. As to the multitude of reasons why this progress exists we must look to those new things in aviation which tend to promote efficiency and safety. There are two requisites of practical flying in scheduled operations. You might have one without the other. A machine might be efficient yet unsafe because of factors beyond the control of its pilot. A machine might be safe for passengers and unable to carry paying loads. It might not make the speed necessary to attract passengers. It might not be built to stand up long enough to reimburse the operator for its initial cost. Good flying on the air lines must always mean practical flying; and to be practical it must be fast enough, safe enough, and efficient enough to attract the maximum of patronage. Therefore the present story of aviation is a story of technical progress, of new things created to make flying popular.

Strangely enough, none of these things is really new in the accepted meaning of the word. True, approximately 1,000 radically new aviation ideas are submitted to the responsible agencies of the Government each year.* The industry receives all those and many more. But when you learn that the Government accepts for further development an average of only two of these ideas every three years, then you wonder.

Still, a 100 per cent increase in speed in eight years, a 50 per cent improvement in regularity of operations, in completed schedules, a threefold in-

crease in the seating capacity of transport planes, and a steadily mounting figure of airplane miles flown, accompanied by a decrease in the per capita accident rate—you do not get those results with mirrors. There isn't a magician in aviation, although there are a few hypnotists still clinging to the skirts of the industry, still trying to hypnotize the public into buying stock in wholly worthless enterprises, largely involving their alleged inventions—which, they tell you, will revolutionize the industry overnight. No, there is no magic in aviation, unless it be the magic of sheer genius with its infinite capacity for taking pains to work out intricate problems, step by step through the long and tedious processes of evolutionary development.

Take aviation gasoline, for example. Your motor car once chugged along on gas with an anti-knock rating of about 53 octanes, meaning that it was about half as efficient as it should be in the matter of avoiding detonation and resultant intense heat. That excessive temperature caused by the detonations knocked your engine into the repair shop at short intervals. Aviation gasoline some years ago had the same faults to a certain extent.

But gasoline companies made progress in both motor car and airplane fuels. Today the average high-test gasoline is about 76 or 78 octane. Ordinary gasoline is 70. Two years ago it was 65. Research, evolution, pure science mixed with natural materials—and now the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey has developed an aviation gasoline of 100 octanes. Of course it is very special at the moment, not in general use in aircraft, limited to test flights and record attempts where special fuel can be used for the time being. Engines must be developed for that kind of gasoline. Engine development and fuel development must go hand in hand.

The Army and Navy are now using about 87-octane fuel in their planes. One of these days everybody will be flying on gasoline much higher than 87. Sometime in the future it may even be 100-octane, so the experts tell us. The better the fuel the better the engine in reliability and efficiency.

An average of three aviation patents filed at the Patent Office every day shows the real progress being made in

* Aeronautical inventions offered to the Government, for use in the Army and Navy air forces and other federal branches dealing with aviation, are submitted to the Patents and Design Board created by Congress in 1926. The Board includes Assistant Secretaries of War, Navy, and Commerce having aviation under their jurisdiction. The Board sends the invention or idea to the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, famous the world over for its technical researches and laboratory facilities which permit its trained staff to get at the bottom of any aeronautical problem, however deep. The National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics returns the idea to the Board with recommendations for either further development or rejection. The Government may pay as much as \$75,000 for an accepted invention or idea.

that field. Who files these patents? A third of them are in the freak class. Another third represent serious research workers who have filed patent claims against the future. Their ideas are too advanced, too revolutionary at the moment. Auxiliary equipment to make their ideas workable may be lacking. That leaves about 300 other inventions annually, and here we begin to see the light.

Evolution, Not Revolution

We find that those 300 inventions are being patented by known engineers either employed by the aviation companies or running their own companies. Invariably their ideas are not very radical. Instead, they are simple improvements to existing things. That means evolution. Make no mistake about this. The progress of aviation is proceeding along the lines of evolution, not revolution—all of which is most amazing, because it convinces us that these so-called new things are quite practical.

When the great "299 Bomber" emerged from the plant of the Boeing Aircraft Company, and flew non-stop from Seattle to Dayton at an average speed of 232 miles an hour last summer, the average person probably marveled at its speed. Most of the aviation industry itself was astonished, not only at the speed (which was vastly superior to anything abroad) but at the magnificent design and construction of this genuine flying fortress.

Some competitors frankly exclaimed that it was just about the limit in technical perfection—like the Douglas transport when it appeared nearly two years ago, to amaze the whole aviation world and start foreigners over here to buy American transports for their own air lines. The Transcontinental & Western Air technicians and the Douglas engineers labored two years before the plant even started to build the first ship. It was evolution.

That is what Douglas, Lockheed, Northrop, Curtiss-Wright, Boeing, Vought, Vultee, Fairchild, Sikorsky, Bellanca, Glenn L. Martin, Consolidated, North American Aviation, Stinson, Waco, Walter Beech, Hammond, and several others are practising today; and their creations during the next two years will astonish the experts. Engines, propellers, electrical and gyroscopic instruments go hand in hand with the airplane itself, and represent precision work and scientific progress without parallel in our industrial history.

The science of human flight has been developing along a thousand and one different lines, each a separate path toward perfection. But each has been dependent on the others. Improved wings must keep pace with improved

engines; and improved parts to the number of at least 1,000 in any airplane can keep pace only with improved methods of working in metals, creating new alloys and fastening them one to another so that they will not disintegrate under the constant shock of bullet-like speeds, corrosion, vibration and the strain of great loads.

Imagine a plane weighing 25 tons. You need not imagine it. The Martin flying boats for Pan American Airways, such as the "China Clipper," weigh 25 tons. The Sikorsky clipper ships weigh nearly 20 tons, loaded. Regular service across the Pacific is about to become a reality.

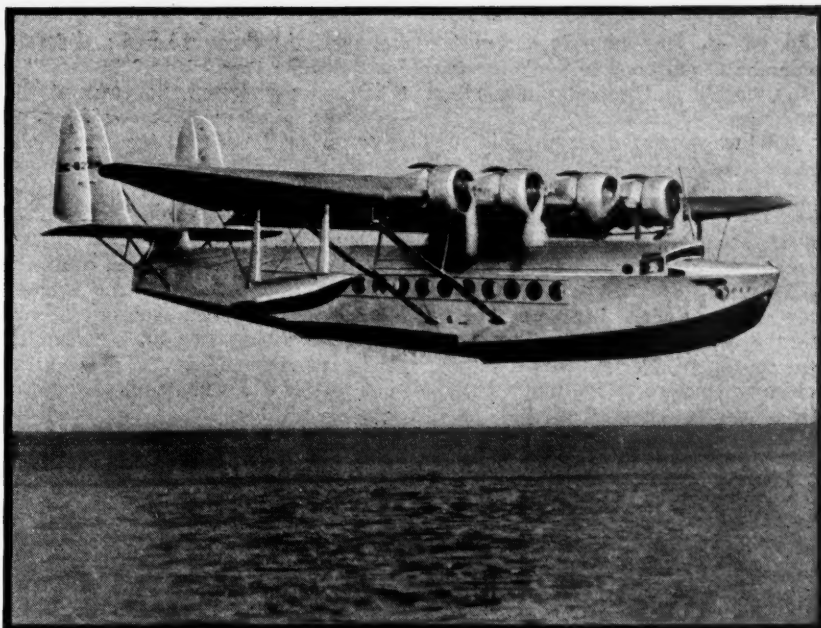
To the motorist a spark plug is only a spark plug, but to the aviator some of the new spark plugs represent economy and less overhaul; and some of them now have cooling fins to keep down the temperature and preserve the electrodes from becoming useless. Rubber tougher than steel? Yes. The Goodrich Company is putting out rubber abrasion shoes to cloak the leading edges of metal wings, control surfaces, and similar exposed parts of a plane so that dirt, dust, sleet and other particles will not wear away the metal during fast flight.

Better Engines

Airplane engines improved? A Wright Whirlwind was kept in the air for 27 days without stopping, one of the world records for this year. When Howard Hughes broke the world land speed record a few months ago he flew at more than 352 miles an hour with a Pratt & Whitney Wasp engine rated at only 750 horsepower; yet it could be made to give him nearly 1,000 horsepower long enough to break the speed record.

The motor car today is nothing like that of yesterday. So with the airplane. Motor car and airplane have this in common: they look very much as they did a few years ago, to the layman. Better streamlining makes them somewhat different to the eye; but they run on the same principles as before. Only the autogiro, with its rotor blades giving it a windmill appearance, marks any radical departure in flying machine design; and the autogiro is still in the experimental state, still in process of its extremely promising development toward the stage where it will fly fast and carry paying loads.

More powerful engines are being developed to power the great machines that the engineers know they can build, and are about to build. The 800 horsepower engine (giving an actual 300 to 500 horsepower at economical and efficient cruising speeds) has been providing power for the transports and military equipment now making records such as that of October when



20 TONS

Luxurious Pan-American Sikorskys will fly you over the ocean to South American ports and the Hawaiian Islands.



CONTROLS

Except for takeoffs and landings, the Sperry gyropilot automatically flies this huge Sikorsky without effort.

a new Consolidated Navy patrol boat, the P3Y-1, flew non-stop from the Panama Canal Zone to San Francisco Bay, more than 3,300 miles in less than 35 hours.

That was a regular service ship purchased with an order for 59 others like it for naval aviation duty, a flying ship capable of traversing great distances over the open sea without depending on surface craft for assistance or support. In 1919, when the navy made the first Atlantic flight, a line of destroyers and other vessels spanned the route to render aid within an hour or so wherever a plane might be.

Lighter Engines

The next step will be engines of 1,000 to 1,200 horsepower giving about 800 at cruising speeds, thus making possible much larger aircraft. The average engine weighs about two pounds for each unit of horsepower. The development of a two-stroke cycle fuel injection for aircraft engines—toward which the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics has made important contributions, through its technical staff working in the laboratories at Langley Field, Va.—promises to bring down the average weight of engines to 1.4 pounds per horsepower. That will result in a material increase in horsepower without increasing weight. It will save fuel, permit heavier paying loads, and increase the flying range.

The engine supercharger has reached a high state of development. This, in simple words, is a pump which maintains sea level pressure at the carburetor, letting the engine inhale air of the same density as at sea level. It functions at any height with the same effectiveness as near the surface.

Our air forces and air lines are experimenting with sub-stratosphere operations. Only a few months ago D. W. Tomlinson, executive of Transcontinental & Western Air, took two other experts with him on a most amazing flight. It will be recalled that Wiley Post had been doing some sub-stratosphere flying. He made several attempts to fly from Los Angeles to New York at about 30,000 feet, using oxygen. Post failed; and the reason was nothing less than his lack of proper equipment. For sentimental reasons he preferred to use his old "Winnie Mae," with which he had twice girdled the earth.

Tomlinson and his companions took a modern Douglas transport, the TWA laboratory ship, equipped with every device designed for such work. They set out from Kansas City, Mo., and climbed more than 30,000 feet as they nosed toward New York. For two and a half hours they remained at that height, reducing altitude as they ap-

proached New York. They used oxygen. All three relaxed and rested at the same time. Why?

Because another pilot was at the controls, a silent pilot requiring no oxygen or food to keep it fit—the Sperry gyropilot, working automatically, instantaneously, turning the controls of the ship this way and that at the very instant they required correction in order to keep a true course.

What determined the true course? A radio homing compass, one of two types now being tried out to determine their relative efficiency. The radio compass is a development of the aircraft radio direction-finding compass, now so efficient that on a flight all the way across the United States it will keep a plane on a straight course toward the broadcasting station which sends out the radio beam to mark its flight path.

On the TWA flight Tomlinson learned that planes really fly faster in the higher altitudes, that their engines develop more power for the fuel consumed, that such flying is not uncomfortable, and that the radio compass works.

The plane remained on a true course through the combination of the Sperry gyropilot and the radio compass linked together, working together. The automatic pilot kept the plane under control and headed precisely on the course maintained for it by the radio compass—the pilot and his navigator and radio operator flying above the clouds half way across the country without seeing it.

Improved Propellers

Sub-stratosphere flying, at once the hope and the problem of high speed transport service at a cost low enough to make it popular, would be impossible without the variable-pitch propeller. Taking a plane off at sea level, with the propeller blades pitched at such an angle as to give just the right kind of thrust, is part of the secret of human flight. The Wright brothers, having invented the airplane, found that they also had to invent their own engine and their own propellers to get off the ground. And at sea level propellers have been operated under the same principles ever since the first flight of the Wrights in 1903.

High flying is different. The air becomes increasingly rare, or thin, with each foot of altitude. A propeller blade is not as efficient in thin air as at sea level. But wait. First came the variable-pitch propeller, a few years ago. Now there are three different types in the United States: Curtiss, Hamilton Standard, and Smith. They can be turned during flight, their blades turning in the hubs. The higher the flight and the thinner the air, the greater the

bite of air which the propeller is made to take; hence efficiency at any height.

Within the last few months the Hamilton Standard propeller has become a constant speed propeller. The word "constant" means that its operation is automatic, and that the number of positions in which the blades may be used during flight is really infinite. The pilot sets his controls and takes off—say from sea level. As he climbs into the thinning air his propeller blades automatically adjust themselves to the required position, the exact slant needed for the best possible performance. Moreover, going up or down, the blades turn one way or another to bite off larger or smaller chunks of air, automatically serving as a governor on the engine so that it receives the degree of throttle necessary for the best performance. In that sense the propeller is constant in functioning efficiently at any height.

Within the last six months more than a thousand definite improvements have gone into the design and construction of aircraft and auxiliary equipment. Does that contradict the former statement that a thousand ideas are rejected as worthless every year? Hardly. A new idea may be worthless, and usually is. But an improvement is something else again, representing evolution, development of something already workable. This writer knows of nothing so brand new in 1935 that it can be termed an original idea. Yet he knows of a thousand improvements, each contributing to the better performance of aircraft.

Streamlining of aircraft has been carried out almost to the absolute limits of perfection, that is, of efficiency. Wings and bodies are made of metal under new methods of welding, which eliminate even the resistance ordinarily imparted by the heads of rivets sticking out of the smooth surfaces. Retractable landing gears offer no resistance to the air stream while the plane is speeding.

Air brakes for airplanes are now efficient. In a majority of airplanes the air brake is essential. It is a flap on the trailing edge of the wing, lowered as the pilot glides for a landing. The lowered flap, catching the air, retards the forward speed.

The best performers in heavy transport and bombing planes today land at speeds not much higher than the smaller, slower, and lighter types of five or six years ago. Landing at 50 to 60 miles an hour—that being the speed of the plane as its wheels touch the earth—is the usual thing. Smaller planes, especially some of the new planes for private owners, land at 35 to 45, even when they are pointed toward the ground at steep angles by a novice pilot who has become rattled

(Continued on page 64)

NEW ENGLAND WEIGHS THE NEW DEAL

SEVEN EDITORS MAKE REPORT

What do the people of New England think of the Administration at Washington and its policies? How far have their agriculture and their industries moved along the road back to normal?

HISTORY, in the United States, is largely written around wars and presidential elections. Occasionally there is an "era of good feeling", a panic, perhaps a period of expansion or prosperity, to furnish a high spot.

From one or more of these angles the year 1936 is destined to place its imprint upon the sands of time. There are, indeed, those who believe that we are in the midst of social change more significant than political or economic upheaval.

With these thoughts in view, this periodical has invited the editors of New England's leading newspapers to state briefly the prevailing local sentiment regarding national issues. Possibly current opinion in other sections of the country will be similarly tapped later on.

New England's six states, combined, are only one-fourth the size of Texas. They are smaller, even in the aggregate, than any one of nineteen other states. Yet they furnish home and work and ideals for more than 8,000,000 souls, 1 out of every 15 in the whole country.

The northern tier—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont—are rural, averaging less than 40 persons per square mile. The southern tier—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut—average 500 to the square mile. Rhode Island, indeed, with 644, is our most densely populated state.

In the nine presidential elections of this twentieth century Maine and Connecticut went Republican in all except that of 1912. New Hampshire strayed only twice, in 1912 and 1916. Vermont's record is unblemished. Massachusetts had seven perfect Republican scores, and then went Democratic in 1928 and 1932. Rhode Island slipped three times, in 1912, 1928, and 1932.

Thus New England is essentially Republican. Until 1912 the count was

usually: Republican states, 6; Democratic, 0. In 1932—nationally a Democratic landslide—the count was: Republican, 4; Democratic, 2.

Its agriculture varies from potatoes in Maine, and dairy farming in Vermont and New Hampshire, to tobacco in Connecticut and western Massachusetts. AAA policies were not framed for New England farmers. Total rental and benefit payments last year barely exceeded \$1,000,000 for all the six states combined. North Dakota alone, in contrast, received \$38,000,000.

Manufacturing in New England cities was severely affected by the prolonged depression, and the states in the lower tier have shared measurably in federal emergency relief.

MAINE

By GUY P. GANNETT

President, Portland Press-Herald

JUST A YEAR from the next presidential election, Maine seems to be swinging ever more surely against the New Deal and toward rehabilitation of the Republican party. To be sure, Maine did not turn its back upon the Republican party in 1932, nationally; for after electing Democratic Louis J. Brann Governor by a small majority (largely because of Republican disaffection), it turned round two months later and gave Mr. Hoover a 40,000 plurality.

Next year, Democratic success in Maine with state candidates is very doubtful, and there seems more reason than formerly to expect another Republican national victory. General agreement as to such a Republican success, in the event that a good candidate shall be named, has long been apparent; now, informed sources of public opinion talk of Republican victory whoever is named to carry the national banner.

There are many reasons for this triumph of conservative sentiment. In the first place, the Administration has been ill-advised in shelving Governor Brann, the most influential Democrat in Maine in decades, and in giving the primacy in party influence to Representative E. Carl Moran, Jr., whose election was won in 1934 only by the active campaigning of the Governor. In the second place, an unfortunate scandal involving alleged misuse of ERA funds has been charged by Administration officials to Democratic appointees of the Governor, who, with his party, necessarily if unjustly suffers.

All this alienates Republican support, and in Maine a Democrat can be elected only with Republican aid. Thus, the G.O.P. in Maine stands to profit from the breach in the Democratic party, with every indication of a Republican sweep in both state and national elections of 1936.

This would be normal in any case. Maine appears restless under the New Deal. It has paid out millions in processing taxes to get back thousands. It has paid nearly half of its relief costs, while it has seen such states as Florida and North and South Carolina receive nearly 100 per cent of federal relief aid. It has seen the crop limitation program in some states develop new production of potatoes with consequent ruin for its Aroostook County. It has seen the Administration, as it believes, so mishandle the pulp and paper situation as to cause great disaster and threaten worse to Maine's chief industry.

While reports of better business roll in from outside its borders, business conditions in Maine, admittedly among the last to feel the tides of change, continue to be poor.

Not even the great Quoddy project which split the state into two camps—those who welcomed it as an employ-

ment venture, and those who derided it as New Deal boondoggling—has now the power to stir enthusiasm for the Administration.

Maine people are conservative, and, for the most part, shrewd. They cannot get used to unbalanced budgets, prodigal spending, dollar tampering, Farleyism, Brain Trusts. They give Mr. Roosevelt credit for meaning well, for sincerity, and for brave if mistaken optimism. But Maine people are well aware that the New Deal is spending not other people's money, but their own money; that eventually Maine with the other 47 states must pay, and pay painfully, for the program of squandering resources of all kinds in an attempt, so far without adequate results, to lift a country ready to rise of its own accord were the ropes of federal restriction to be cut.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

By JOHN A. MUEHLING

Editor, Manchester Union and Leader

NORMALLY a strong Republican state, with the vote about evenly divided between municipalities and towns, New Hampshire is turning its back upon the policies of the national administration and the New Deal for their failure to aid in emergency situations.

The country's largest cotton textile industry, located in Manchester, was one of the first to approve the NRA and to adopt a code providing two shifts, a 40-hour week, and increases in wages. Today, as a result of the processing tax, the differential between wages in northern and southern textile mills, and importations of goods from Japan, the huge plant employing 11,000 people is closed. Other textile corporations are operating, but under great hardships.

Unemployment has thrown thousands upon relief, with a resultant burden to the state, cities, and towns. The national government provided financial aid for one month and then withdrew its assistance. The state, after spending \$1,800,000 in eleven months to assist the needy, finds itself unable to furnish funds for the six months ending June 30, 1936.

Governor H. Styles Bridges, realizing the seriousness of the situation and blaming the national administration for its "unfair treatment" of New Hampshire, has signified his intention of reconvening the legislators for the purpose of raising more money either through tax measures or bond issues.

The Governor, in denouncing the attitude of the federal authorities, says that the closed mills, the precarious relief situation, and lack of building projects are entirely due to the national administration. Recent

rejection by the PWA of a \$2,000,000 state building program, to provide jobs for unemployed, adds to the mounting opposition to the New Deal.

The AAA has benefitted the farmers somewhat, but the WPA has not begun to function to any great extent.

New Hampshire's recreational business has been excellent. The shoe industry—next in line to textiles—is operating satisfactorily. The farmers, with a few exceptions, have had normal results.

The dairy business, a \$10,000,000 enterprise and the most important in the agricultural field, is benefitting under the milk license provisions of the AAA. This regulation has added about \$400,000 a year to the farmers' purses and is considered the only helpful article in the AAA. Poultrymen have seen rising prices and more business; but these are due, they say, to the increased cost of beef and the drought in the middle west, which seriously affected cattle-raising.

Despite bettered dairy business, New Hampshire farmers are expected to retain their Republican affiliations in politics. The party has depended upon the rural residents for a heavy vote to offset the Democratic ballots in the cities. The Democrats undoubtedly could win many of the dairy farmers by the threat of abolishment of the milk license provision.

The voters appear pretty well satisfied with Republican state administrations and particularly with the present head of government. The budget has been balanced and there has been no restriction of the regular state activities.

New Hampshire is the first state to hold a presidential primary election. It occurs at town meeting day in March, and the Republican party, with the idea of sending the strongest delegation possible, is placing outstanding leaders in the contest.

Governor Bridges has suggested an unpledged delegation favoring the candidacy of Col. Frank Knox, if the Chicago and Manchester newspaper publisher is a candidate for the presidential nomination. The state's chief executive is an aspirant for delegate-at-large, and others who have publicly announced include President Ernest M. Hopkins of Dartmouth College, former U. S. Senator George H. Moses, and former Governor Huntley N. Spaulding.

The attitude of the titular head of the strong Republican party in this state is reflected in the municipalities and in the rural districts. With 5000 textile operatives in the city of Manchester on relief and several more thousands on the border line, due to the closing of the mills, there is considerable resentment toward the national administration because of its

imposition of the processing tax and its failure to correct some of the textile problems.

VERMONT

By E. F. CRANE

Editor, Burlington Free Press

VERMONT, rock-ribbed, Republican, and largely rural, is more interested in what the price of milk will be on the Boston and New York markets during the coming year than in the presidential election of 1936.

As an indication of that, Vermont has shown very little interest in a nation-wide poll for presidential candidates. Of the few votes cast, 59 per cent were for Republican candidates, 31 per cent for Roosevelt, and 10 per cent for other Democratic candidates, including Carter Glass and Al Smith. Governor Landon led the Republican field, with Colonel Knox second, and Hoover and Borah in third and fourth places.

Although Vermont probably will be found in the Republican column next year, as it was in 1932, there is considerable sentiment for some of the New Deal policies.

Vermont, as New England's leading dairy state, supplying more than 50 per cent of the milk for the Boston market, naturally favors any program that helps to maintain milk prices to the farmer. The federal milk license in the Boston market has been a help.

But there is another side to the picture. Vermont farmers must buy western grain to feed their cattle during certain seasons. The price of grain has soared to a point where the average farmer is balancing his milk check against his feed bill, and this is not making him feel happy toward AAA production control.

As for potato control, growers of certified seed in Vermont are for it. But the Vermont State Grange, more representative of the average farmer, has voted to request the Vermont Representative in Congress to work for repeal of the Warren Potato Control Act.

Both rural and urban Vermont are severely critical of the New Deal's huge spending program and the unbalanced budget. "Pay-as-you-go" has long been a slogan in Vermont. Typical Vermonters still believe in it. They don't like the piling-up of public debts and big interest charges.

Vermont did not go so low in the depression as some other states. It never goes so high in boom times. The state is making a satisfactory recovery, with increases this year in receipts from the tax on electrical energy generated within the state, showing greater industrial activity, also increases in receipts from motor

vehicle registrations and the gasoline tax (after a steady decrease each year since 1930). A big pick-up in summer recreational business helped.

Vermont is enjoying considerable benefit from CCC work, particularly flood control and development of forest parks, but it has had comparatively little direct federal relief. Recent figures show federal grants of \$435,400 for PWA; \$1,317,791 for WPA; and \$1,654,163 for public highways and grade-crossing elimination. This is a total of \$3,307,354. Only Delaware has received less such federal aid for relief than Vermont.

MASSACHUSETTS: EAST

By HENRY T. CLAUS

Editor, Boston Transcript

THE TASK of appraising the political and economic sentiment of Massachusetts has lately been simplified by a chain of fortuitous circumstances. Six weeks ago it was all a matter of individual opinion; today judgment is reinforced by facts and figures revealed to the entire public in the votes of a great body of citizens of the Commonwealth.

As a result, there can hardly be any honest escape from the conclusion that the Democratic party in general and the New Deal specifically have lost much of the ground they won in the presidential election of 1932 and maintained in the congressional elections of 1934.

Several factors, some general and some peculiar to Massachusetts, have contributed to the decline. When the state began to apply the exact yardstick to the Roosevelt program, it came to realize that Massachusetts was paying far more into the federal treasury than it was receiving in ERA or PWA grants;

That, in spite of large governmental appropriations, there had been no perceptible decrease in unemployment;

That the NRA had not done what its sponsors had said it would do;

That the AAA had increased the cost of living to the housewife;

That the processing taxes, levied to help the Southern cotton planter, had so increased the cost of raw materials that the state's great textile industry could not operate profitably.

That it was obvious, from Secretary Wallace's public attack last June on the New England temperament, that this section could expect no favors from the administration.

Added to all this was an increasing opposition to the Democratic policies formulated and executed in a high-handed manner by Democratic Governor James M. Curley.

This disaffection, clear for some time to the trained observer, is now reflected in the results of two spe-

cial elections to fill vacancies in the state legislature and in the regular municipal elections conducted by about a dozen important cities, not including Boston. Some of the contests were non-partisan, but in every single instance where the New Deal and Democratic rule were made the issue Republican gains were so substantial as to encourage the conviction that Massachusetts politically is today Republican territory.

Like many other states, Massachusetts has become distinctly tax-conscious. It is carrying a heavy burden in local, state, and national levies, and it wants the load lightened.

Its political philosophy is that it can expect no relief from the Democratic party.

Its economic philosophy is that the Government should end its invasion into the fields of private industry and should forget further experimentation in the field of social reform.

Its agricultural philosophy is that the AAA is not a satisfactory solution of the farm problem.

MASSACHUSETTS: WEST

By HENRY B. RUSSELL

Editor, Springfield Union

FOUR COUNTIES in the Berkshire Hills and the Connecticut Valley cover 36 per cent of the area of Massachusetts but have only 14 per cent of its population, which is congested in and about Boston. Hence in state politics Western Massachusetts has been at a disadvantage, overcome at times by the superior qualifications of such Republican leaders as Governor and President Calvin Coolidge, Governor and Senator Murray Crane, and Speaker and Senator Frederick H. Gillett.

Until recent years this section has been strongly Republican but with a yeasting grievance over the too-exclusive appropriation of civic honors and political influence by Republican leaders and voters at the Boston end, while the state's Democratic party has been commonly dominated by Democratic Boston.

In 1930, however, a Western Massachusetts Democrat, Joseph B. Ely of Westfield, captured the nomination for Governor and in the election changed a 1928 Republican gubernatorial plurality of 15,000 in the four counties to a Democratic plurality of 9,000. This he increased in 1932 to 40,000, though in the same election President Roosevelt had in them a net lead of only 522. In 1934 the Boston Democrats regained control in the nomination and election of Governor James M. Curley; the Ely lead in Western Massachusetts was changed to a Republican lead of 4275 for a Boston Republican candidate for Gov-

ernor and a lead of over 17,500 for a Western Massachusetts Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor.

In recent months Governor Curley's methods and acts in equipping his personal political machine at state expense have aroused strong resentment among independent voters and Democrats with a New England conscience. This has plainly fostered a resurgence of Republican strength in this section with a demand, voiced in other sections, for the nomination of John W. Haigis of Greenfield as Republican candidate for Governor in 1936.

Another and possibly more potent cause for recovery of Republican strength is a growing distrust of the New Deal, as subversive of American institutions and sound economics. It is easier to sense than to measure effects of this undercurrent of public sentiment, but undoubtedly former Governor Ely—who is now openly denouncing the political acts of Governor Curley and the false economics of the New Deal—expresses the convictions of many life-long Democrats. Western Massachusetts people are largely habituated to a working life typical of American traditions. Theories of the New Deal clash with their temperaments; its programs and projects have provided them little except the prospect of paying a large share of federal bounties lavishly distributed elsewhere.

Normally thrifty and self-reliant in industry and agriculture, the people of Western Massachusetts, urban and rural, show growing concern over mounting deficits and debts as recovery and reemployment lag. Taxes, state and national, are an increasing burden on diminished resources.

RHODE ISLAND

By DAVID PATTEN

Managing Editor,

Providence Evening Bulletin

RHODE ISLAND business and industry has recovered roughly one-third of the ground lost during the depression. Approximately 36 per cent more workers are employed in manufacturing than in the spring of 1933 and the payrolls of these workers show a gain of more than 40 per cent. Actual industrial production, as measured by power consumption and other indices, has increased to a somewhat lesser degree. Bank debits in Providence, a good general measure of the turnover of money, are running nearly 25 per cent above the 1932 lows.

This is the economic background against which any political discussion must be projected. Rhode Island is fortunate above most other states in possessing reliable data to indicate political trends. It was normally a Republican state up to the Roosevelt

landslide of 1932. The high Democratic pluralities of that year were increased in 1934, when the Democratic state ticket won by a margin of about 35,000 in a total vote of 248,000 and the state sent a Democratic Senator and two Democratic Congressmen to Washington.

One of these Congressmen was elected to the State Supreme Court last winter. To fill the vacancy a special election was held in August, which resulted in the most sensational reverse in the state's history. With a total of 84,617 votes cast in the First Congressional District, the Republican candidate was elected by 15,000, a turnover of about 27,000 votes within nine months.

This election took place in that part of the state which has been most heavily industrialized. At that time the New England cotton textile industry was in an acutely depressed condition (it is still subnormal, decidedly), and manufacturers claimed that the cotton processing tax and growing Japanese importations of some grades of cloth were mainly responsible for their troubles. The vote in the First District was accepted, both locally and nationally, as a rebuke to the New Deal and as a trend indicator in New England.

From this view many Democrats dissented. They attributed the turnover largely to resentment against the Democratic State Administration, which has made powerful enemies within the party, and pointed out that of the many PWA projects submitted to a state-wide referendum on the same day, the voters had defeated those closest to the heart of Governor Theodore Francis Green.

There can be no settlement, now, of these claims and counterclaims. But it is fair to point out that since the 1934 general elections there have been many votes taken on various issues and offices in the cities and towns of the state, and in not a single case have the Republicans failed to improve their position.

There are many Rhode Islanders not closely connected with politics whose sympathy is with the social program of the Roosevelt Administration and who believe that 1932 turned the state permanently away from its historical political alignment. But anyone seeking to chart the drift of opinion in this compact industrial state would find that the following assertions are quite susceptible of proof:

That a majority of businessmen, and probably a great majority, is convinced that business gains up to the present time have been made in spite of New Deal measures and that recovery would have gone further without them;

That few housewives are not acutely conscious that food costs much more today than it did a year ago, and that this fact is somehow related to AAA;

And that taxpayers, big and little, are becoming increasingly aware of deficits and mounting public debts, and that they are watching the parade of billions with a bewilderment that is changing to stern apprehension and borders on anger when the prospect of future tax increases is mentioned.

Some deep-seated shock has undoubtedly shaken political opinion in Rhode Island within the last year. Whether it is a local rift or part of a national disturbance will remain controversial until November, 1936.

CONNECTICUT

By M. S. SHERMAN
Editor, *Hartford Courant*

CONNECTICUT was one of the six states that gave its electoral vote to Mr. Hoover in 1932, although his popular plurality, 6788, was small compared with that customarily accorded a Republican candidate for President. Purely local influences at that time caused the voters to reelect its Democratic Governor, Dr. Wilbur L. Cross, and to defeat the Republican candidate for United States Senator, Mr. Hiram A. Bingham.

In the mid-term elections of 1934 the Democrats elected their candidate for the Senate and filled four of the state's six seats in the House of Representatives. The voters on that occasion were in a mood to regard the Roosevelt administration hopefully and to give it the benefit of every doubt. Since then a decided change in sentiment has occurred.

It probably is not true that recent town elections, in which the Republicans scored heavily, actually reflected the changed attitude toward the Administration. More likely is it that the personality of candidates and what they stood for in local affairs were the governing considerations.

If the Republicans profess to see a special significance in the results of these elections, it is not easy for them to explain the Democratic victories in more recent city elections.

But here again the conclusion is inescapable that strictly local issues, plus the fact that most of these cities are normally Democratic, determined the outcome. In Bridgeport the general dissatisfaction with previous Republican and Democratic city administrations resulted in the reelection of the Socialist Mayor, who carried with him all the candidates of his party for the City Council. In none of the town or city elections was the New Deal made in any sense an issue.

The really significant thing, looking to 1936, is that Connecticut upheld Mr. Hoover in 1932, although he was not personally popular; and there is little doubt that the disposition is now stronger to support the next Republican nominee for President, whoever he may be, than it was then. One hears on all sides, from Democrats as well as Republicans, increasing dissatisfaction with the New Deal.

Particularly disturbing to Connecticut thought is the money that has been poured out by the Administration for all sorts of purposes—the growing annual deficits and the mounting public debt. All this is alien to Connecticut traditions of prudence and thrift. This state has prided itself on balancing its budgets and paying as it goes. It regards any other course with grave apprehension.

It has accepted federal money for relief projects with a wry face, when it has accepted them at all; not a few offerings have been flatly rejected. With difficulty it has reasoned that since this money was going to be spent anyway, Connecticut, in view of the large contribution it makes in the way of income and other taxes, might as well get its share.

No state in the Union has a greater sense of self-reliance and independence than this old Constitution State, which this year is observing its Tercentenary. It is hostile to anything that savors of encroachments by the federal Government upon its own rights and privileges.

If there was some trumped-up enthusiasm for the NRA, it quickly disappeared, and the Supreme Court decision invalidating it was nowhere received with more satisfaction.

Similarly the AAA, despite the bounties it is giving to the tobacco growers of the Connecticut Valley, goes against all the instincts of the farming element. Opposition to the Potato Control Act amounts almost to a rebellion.

About the only one of the Administration's relief measures that has received anything like general approval is the CCC.

Such improvement in business as has taken place within the state is commonly attributed to the operation of natural economic laws, rather than to acts and policies emanating from Washington. The fact that business has improved markedly since the demise of NRA only serves to strengthen the conviction, so generally held here, that prosperity would quickly return under an Administration less given to experimentation.

From present indications Connecticut can be safely set down as happy that it did not vote for Mr. Roosevelt in 1932, and determined that it will not vote for him in 1936.

ETHIOPIA'S CHINESE WAR

BY RICHARD BARRY

When bluff meets bluff a peculiar kind of pseudo-war results, as evidenced by the Mediterranean antics of John Bull and Benito Mussolini. A veteran war correspondent tells the strange story.

At 4 o'clock on the morning of October 17 Premier Laval, in Paris, got Premier Mussolini on the phone in Rome and asked for the best Italian terms. Mussolini replied that if the British did not change the dispositions of their fleet within 24 hours, Italy would attack the seventeen British war vessels lying in Alexandria Bay.

At 3:50 on the morning of October 18 Sir Eric Drummond, British ambassador to Italy, rushed up the steps of the Venezia Palace. It was more than an hour before dawn, an excellent moment for launching a surprise attack. It was 23 hours and 50 minutes after the ultimatum.

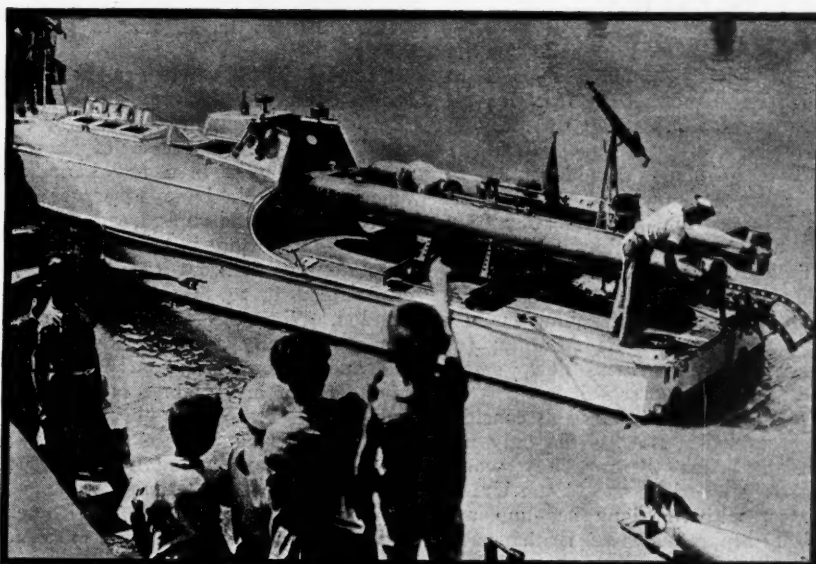
Sir Eric was promptly admitted, and later in the day announcement came that the British would trade the shift of a battleship or two for the shift of an Italian division from Libya. The minutiae of the business, from then to now, have been shrouded in diplomatic evasions, but the chief tension lessened at once.

At any rate, it seems fairly certain that in the gray pre-dawn of an October morning, war between Italy and Britain was averted by a mere ten minutes.

Or was it? Was Mussolini bluffing? We will never know. Of one thing only we may be sure. The British did not call his hand. Why?

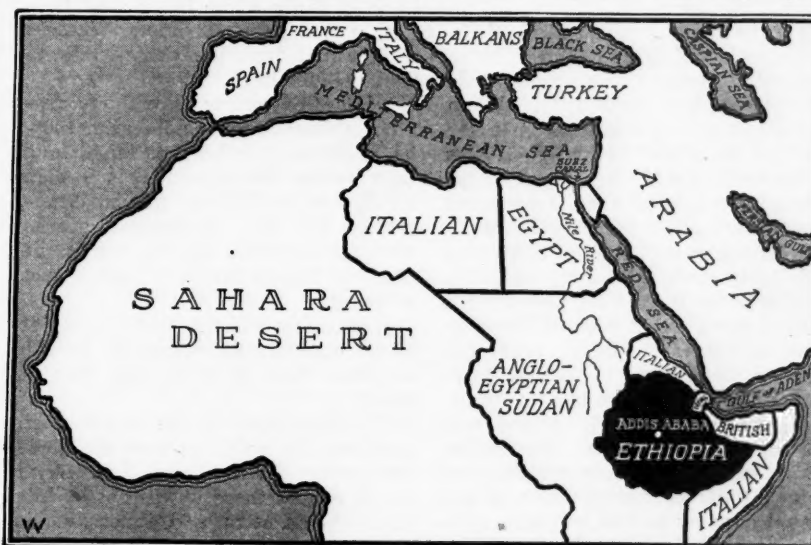
The answer will portray the crux of the present world situation.

Consider the military hazard. The British then had in the Mediterranean (and the Red Sea) 147 war vessels: one superdreadnought which is the largest battle vessel afloat, battle cruisers, second, third, and fourth-type cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, over ten submarines, and perhaps 200 battle planes. It was the bulk of the first of the world's navies, steam up, battle flags ready to break—and with the prestige of 400



"MAS"

Italian naval strength in the Mediterranean is largely made up of little sea-sleds like this, very fast and very light.



FRONTS

The Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, Ethiopia, and north-eastern Africa are fighting or bluffing fronts at present.

years of an unbroken naval triumph.

What had Italy? Four battleships out of date, two in dry dock and two without steam up; no battle cruisers; no aircraft carriers; seven eight-inch cruisers and eight six-inch cruisers, all several years old, while of this type the English ships were new and palpably superior.

That group is the Italian navy Lord Strabolgi (Com. Kenworthy) referred to when he loudly asserted to the British public, speaking for the admiralty, "We have three ships which alone can dispose of the entire Italian navy in three hours."

When Laval heard of the concentration of the British in the Mediterranean, he remarked (to his later regret), "They are lugging out all their old pieces, and they haven't any too many of them".

Italy's Reliance

All of this evaded the point, for the Italian navy Strabolgi referred to had been abandoned by Italy herself for several years. She was relying on the new arms of the service: (a) 3,000 battle planes capable of 200 to 250 miles an hour, and all equipped for bombing and torpedo launching; (b) a corps of aviators with many individual records superior to anything held by Englishmen, and the additional prestige of having made a mass flight across the Atlantic; (c) over 100 submarines, new, small, and fast; (d) 300 sea-sleds.

We must take time out to consider the sea-sleds. Italy is the only nation that has them. They would probably be of no use to the United States, with its long sea-line and widely separated bases. British naval authorities wholly disapprove of them and intend to ask the next naval conference to outlaw them. They are pesky little varminths.

In Italy they are called M. A. S. (a capitalization of D'Annunzio's phrase *Memento Audere Semper*, or "always remember audacity"). When Mussolini and D'Annunzio met for the first time four years ago it was on the deck of a MAS in the Adriatic. It was with a MAS that D'Annunzio took Fiume after the World War.

A MAS is a frail shell of aluminum and light wood, thin, long, and may be destroyed by a rifle bullet, or a gust of wind, but it goes 60 knots an hour at contract speed. (One has touched 80 an hour; often they go 75 an hour.) Each carries two torpedoes. (One torpedo properly placed will destroy a battleship.) Its sailors never leave port; they prepare and launch the mechanism which is operated only by picked volunteer officers, three to a boat. To be chosen for the MAS is the most hazardous and most honorable post in the Ital-

ian navy. It is the sort of job Stephen Decatur would have relished.

These three arms (planes, subs, and MAS), elsewhere auxiliary, are with Italy primary, and chiefly so because of her strategic position in the Mediterranean. Consider her bases—Brindisi, Sicily, Pantelleria, Dodecanese—and realize she can strike any vital part of the "Roman lake" in one jump with plane, sub, or MAS.

When things were hot in October, it was the cordial habit of the Italian base in the Dodecanese to send out a flight of fifty MAS to Alexandria and back, and salute the British warships met at the turn. Whenever more than two British war vessels got together, anywhere in the Mediterranean, an Italian submarine would pop up between them, salute and submerge. Practice flights of battle planes in shock formation went back and forth.

Some British naval officers went jittery.

Nor did it help when a retired Italian admiral remarked in Paris, "Battleships belong in museums. We could wipe out any fleet of these relics of the past in a few hours". When Arthur Brisbane wisecracked "Gibraltar and the superdreadnought will be as important in the next naval encounter as hansom cabs", someone cabled it to the Admiralty in London. When the Hood was steaming majestically from Gibraltar to Alexandria, conveying a proper sense of the might and dignity of Britain, two MAS crossed her bows going south and a little later the same MAS crossed her stern going north. Both times there were proper military salutes. Later the radio in Rome announced (in English so the officers on the Hood might not be mistaken about it) that the two MAS had crossed from Sicily to Africa and back to Sicily while the British battleship was going 40 knots. A neat little visual demonstration of how to "cut the life-line".

While this writer is without definite information of confidential British diplomacy, is he drawing a long bow when he asserts that Italian MAS, subs, and planes may have motivated Sir Eric Drummond not to wait for daylight, but to call at the Venezia Palace before 4 o'clock that morning?

It probably will not take two major naval disasters to wreck the British empire. And is it prudent to risk one?

The headlines of the world stem not from Ethiopia, but from the Mediterranean. When and if a naval battle occurs there it will not be like Jutland—negative and indecisive as to technical weapons. But it will settle the thirty-year-old controversy as to which is superior—the battleship

or the airplane. In this case, the plane will have swift lethal aid in the sea-sled and the submarine.

If the war prize goes to the air (the MAS at 60 knots is kin to an airship), then that battle will be one of the major decisive moments of history. Within the space of a few hours the swing of the pendulum of events will record new international alliances, fresh political systems. From that moment the *status quo* will recede into history as a fact that is gone; it will lie on a slab in the morgue for the knife of the analyst. From it new life will leap to be seized by politicians and reporters.

In such a gamble, Britain has everything to lose, and Italy much less. The throw would be for empire. With Britain that is tangible; with Italy is is prospective. If a poor man said to a millionaire, "I will bet my fortune against yours on a single throw of the dice", the millionaire would not have to be a poor sport or even doubtful of his luck if he asked his agent to get up in the middle of the night to refuse the hazard.

Two questions arise: (a) If Mussolini can wipe out the British navy in a few hours, why does he submit to its continued presence in the Mediterranean? (b) Why do the British keep their fleet in that obvious trap of the "Roman lake" when they could easily and without technical military menace isolate the Italian armies in Africa by closing Gibraltar and Suez, and so end the situation quickly?

Answers arise from anyone. Yet none of the obvious ones quite explains a situation so absurd in its defiance of basic military common sense that the war student rubs his eyes wonderingly.

What—No War?

In Ethiopia the situation is still more confused. Some 104 war correspondents are doing what they can to convince us that a war is in progress. What are the facts? An Italian army of more than 300,000 (one-third laborers with no arms except picks and shovels) is moving against a people who have no fortified cities, no massed armies, no mechanized defense—with twelve-inch guns!

To mount a twelve-inch gun is an engineering feat requiring cement, delicate instruments, and trained men. One salvo could demolish the Empire State Building, and costs enough to start a suburban development. Why use twelve-inch guns in Ethiopia where the nomads leap like fleas from crag to crag?

The Italians certainly are using many twelve-inch guns on the road from Adowa to Makale, and beyond. They build a railway as they go, (Continued on page 60)

THE YEAR ABROAD: STORMY

If 1934 resembled in some respects the red revolutionary 1848, then 1935 has had many of the threatening aspects of warlike 1914, that year of fierce international storm and strife. What next?

THE YEAR 1934 of our so-called Christian era was characterized by a series of domestic upheavals and internal revolts that shook the chancelleries of the world. There were a near coup d'état in Paris, accompanied by serious rioting, two civil wars in Austria, and one in Spain. King Alexander of Yugoslavia and Foreign Minister Barthou of France were assassinated, as were Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria and Comrade Kirov of the Soviet Politburo. In Germany occurred the hideous nazi blood-purge of June 30.

Unlike 1934, the year 1935 was less marked out by domestic strife, riots, or revolts. It has been, instead, a period of severe international complications which are as yet unsolved.

All through the year Japan has continued her military encroachments in North China, below the Great Wall, free of League of Nations restraint and almost unobserved as Europe has been distracted by pressing problems nearer home. Across the frontier of Jap-run Manchukuo and Soviet Russia invidious glances are cast, and threats are forthcoming.

January saw the Saar election, whereby nearly a million inhabitants of this rich coal-basin voted themselves out of League of Nations jurisdiction and into Germany, by a ratio of better than 9 to 1. British, Swedish, Dutch, and Italian soldiers policed the orderly balloting which had been considered, in advance, a very dangerous affair.

Greek Meets Greek

Early in March came a brief Greek civil war, in which Tsaldaris monarchists worsted Venizelist republicans.

In March the Third Reich of Adolf Hitler suddenly announced its intention of rearming, despite stringent limitations imposed upon Germany by the 1919 peace treaty of Versailles. Germany suddenly declared war on the Versailles settlement without equivocation, defied the ex-Allies who had been her masters, and immedi-

ately resumed her place among the world's great powers. Her army was raised from 100,000 (treaty limit) to 500,000; her navy increased to more than a third of the British strength; and she launched a heavy air program, although military planes had been forbidden her by treaty terms.

Finis in the Chaco

War in the Chaco finally came to a weary end, without a cleancut winner, although the Paraguayans had the edge in the jungle fighting. Their soldiers were accustomed to the fetid tropics, while the Bolivian Indians were mostly mountaineers from Andean ranges, who could not stand the climate. Outnumbering the ill-equipped Paraguayans by 3 to 1, they still could not score, despite tanks, gas, airplanes, liquid fire, and expert European instruction. Behind the scenes, the battle was said to be between British and American oil companies interested in concessions and production-outlets. Armistice came in June.

German-American relations were impaired by a communist raid on the *Bremen*, in New York harbor in July, and by Magistrate Brodsky's implication, in judging the case, that the swastika was a pirate emblem. This led to rabid anti-American feeling in the Reich, and to official adoption of the swastika as German national flag. Mayor LaGuardia fanned the flames by his refusal to grant a city license to a German masseur who needed work. The Washington state department was much embarrassed, and agitation against American participation in the Berlin Olympic Games of 1936, carried on in many quarters, has further embittered the nazis. Meanwhile, the Friends of New Germany conducted anti-semitic propaganda in the United States.

Trouble between Italy and Ethiopia has waxed and waned, and waxed and waned again, since January. Boundary disputes in regard to the

line between Italian Somaliland and the Ethiopian southeast led to frontier incidents, complaints to the League of Nations, and later to a general high-pressure Italian mobilization. Mussolini called up a million conscripts, sent 250,000 of them to Africa, and finally invaded northern Ethiopia at the beginning of October, capturing Adowa, Aksum, Makale, and Harar. While General De Bono attacked the Ethiopians from Italian Eritrea on the north, General Graziani attacked them from Italian Somaliland on the south. The Ethiopian emperor, Haile Selassie, called up 2 million blackskins.

Almost unanimously, in November, the League of Nations backed Ethiopia against Italian aggression, and sponsored economic sanctions against Mussolini. Financial credits, arms, and key war materials were to be denied to Italy; Italian goods were to be severely boycotted by the covenanted League powers. The British navy, to the tune of 150 battleships, was pushed into the Mediterranean as executive of the League, but also as the agent of British imperialists who feared that Italy might menace their trade-route to India.

J. Bull Stiffens

England was vigorous in her advocacy of League sanctions against the Italians, but France was singularly cold to any unified action against the peninsular fascists. Paris had been counting on Rome, for future use against a Germany suspected of the iniquitous desire to effect union with German Austria. Soviet Russia, the Little Entente, the Balkan Entente, Scandinavia, Holland, and Belgium were active in their support of England and the League.

Ethiopia has avoided pitched battles against the Italian invaders, depending rather upon such natural hardships as hunger, thirst, disease, homesickness, and a treacherous terrain.

(Continued on page 59)

WHAT'S NEWS IN BUSINESS

BY EDWARD B. WEISS

In the laboratory, shop and office, new ideas are being born every minute—ideas which will launch new products or increase the sales of familiar ones. The consumer is the one who reaps the benefit.

Ideas That Sell

Crumble Cut, a new pipe tobacco by the Axton Fisher Tobacco Company, comes packed with a rubberized tobacco pouch. Air-conditioned buses have arrived, and air-conditioned automobiles are said to be on the way. The Owens-Illinois Glass Company's new research laboratory is being built entirely of glass blocks and no windows. Light is diffused through the glass blocks. A new rug is being marketed which is identical on both sides and can be used on either side. Kayser, of silk fame, is introducing Lam-ees, a modern form of red flannels, consisting of knitted pantalettes made in shrieking colors. Listerine is introducing a cough drop.

Kodak at Night

General Electric and Eastman Kodak are working together on the promotion of snapshots at night. G. E. wants to sell more Mazda photo lamps. Kodak wants to sell more films. Consequently, G. E. is sponsoring a \$2,500 contest for the best pictures taken with artificial light, while Kodak is running a huge advertising campaign in the same mediums featuring the pleasures of snapshots



at night. An interesting sidelight on this unique campaign is that hitherto the photo market has been seasonal, with the big peak in the summer months. By pushing snapshots-at-night it is hoped that the market will become a year-round one.

Incidentally, General Foods' Log Cabin Syrup and the Quaker Oats

Company's Aunt Jemima Pancake Flour have also joined hands. The current Log Cabin Syrup radio program, featuring a Log Cabin Inn, has Aunt Jemima at the griddle. And Aunt Jemima's own advertising, gives a few hefty pushes to Log Cabin Syrup.

Coffee in 110 Brands

Competition on branded items grows more and more severe. A recent survey in a large city showed that retail stores were stocked with brands as follows: Flour, 45 brands. Catsup, 55 brands. Ginger ale, 65 brands. Toothpaste, 75 brands. Cereals, 87 brands. Coffee, 110 brands. When the manufacturer begins to think that everybody knows him, knows his brand, he should look upon these figures and keep up that advertising pressure.

Battle of Slogans

"Don't write—telegraph" slogans Western Union. "Nuts to you", answers the makers of Eaton's Highland Linen writing papers. "Why waste money to telegraph?" it advertises, and continues with this fast right cross to Western Union's jaw: "Eaton's Highland Linen Writing Papers will carry your thoughts, post-haste, with economy, privacy, and personal warmth". Looks like a "Reach for a Lucky Instead of a Sweet" shindig all over again.

Cake Insurance

A variation of the double-your-money-back idea has been developed by the Standard Milling Company, makers of various brands of flour. The company offers an insurance policy against baking mistakes. You buy its flour. You follow a standard recipe.

If your cake turns out to be a flop, the Liberty Mutual Insurance Company will refund the cost of the flour plus all other ingredients used. You pay for your own gas.

Drug-Store Laxity

Not long ago, the Pro-Phy-Lac-Tic Brush Company gave several representatives plenty of cash, told them to walk into a number of drug stores, ask for a brush, and then buy—without argument of any kind—any other



item which the clerk suggested. They were merely limited to an expenditure of \$10 in each store. Did the druggists reap a harvest? They did not. Why? Simply because their clerks made no effort to suggest additional purchases. The Pro-Phy-Lac-Tic shoppers were authorized to spend \$320 in 32 shops. Actually they spent \$26.31. Do you wonder why manufacturers sleep poorly?

Coca-Cola Time

Ever since the departure of those good old days when you could pick up your telephone and get the correct time, advertisers have been flirting with various ideas that would enable them to give the time and also get over an advertising message. Now Coca-Cola is actually experimenting with such a plan. In a few southern cities the company is testing automatic equipment, which gives the time and an advertising message when you dial the proper number. In Birmingham, Alabama, ten trunk lines are kept busy answering calls.

Dickens in Glass

White Hart Inn Cider Vinegar is sold in a glass container shaped to resemble Mr. Pickwick, famous creation of Dickens. Other Dickens' characters—Mr. Micawber, Mr. Weller, etc.—will be similarly reproduced.

Oysters in the Home

The oyster industry claims that a five-year depression is a mild one. This industry has suffered a quarter-century depression! Oysters have all but disappeared from the home. Oystermen are going to try to put them back into the kitchen and on the dining table. They also expect to establish two oyster bars where there is now but one. Working along these lines, aided by advertising, the



oystermen hope to bring back the good old days of 1910, when we consumed 2½ pints per capita. In 1934 we consumed only .4 pint per capita.

Cans vs. Bottles

It is expected that 1,500,000,000 beer cans will be sold in 1936. The field looks so big that large steel companies are showing keen interest. Meantime, bottle companies are not permitting this juicy market to slip through their fingers without a determined effort to hold it. A bitter competitive battle has already developed, which promises to become more bitter as time goes on. One result is a grand crop of rumors about some gosh-awful things that have happened to beer in tins. There are tall stories about beer tins popping all over certain cities, about people being poisoned, about mountainous stacks of beer tins which retailers have thrown out, etc. But beer in cans is here, and here to stay. Only some dramatic idea by bottle makers will save the market for glass.

5-10-20: Now 40 Cents

Woolworth is experimenting with 40-cent items. Tests are confined to a limited number of Canadian and even fewer American stores. If successful, the idea will be extended. It must be remembered that, with its present policy of selling gloves at 20 cents each, and lamp parts at a price that makes a complete lamp perhaps \$1 and more, the 40-cent plan would almost make some of the Wool-

worth stores miniature department stores. Manufacturers in many lines are all agog. There is no doubt that if Woolworth goes into the 40-cent field there will be important merchandising changes in a number of industries.

Chain-Store Activity

The year 1936 promises to be most important for chain stores in all fields. During the depression the chains retrenched, cut down the number of stores, etc. But now they are scouring the market for new sites, are testing radical plans, and, all in all, promise to make life more interesting for themselves and more miserable for many independent merchants.

A Record Library

RCA Victor is offering a combination receiving set and phonograph, plus a library of records, the entire outfit retailing at \$1,550. No more weary hours sitting in a booth listening to records. Everything is pre-selected, and the company claims that its assortment of records will satisfy every musical taste.

Rock-A-Bye Baby

A comparatively small canner developed the strained baby-food business. To Gerber goes that honor. Now all of the big fellows are in it, including Heinz, of 57-varieties fame. The business was originally done through grocers. But Heinz, firmly founded upon grocery distribution, is endeavoring to use drug stores as an outlet for strained foods for babies. This plan of going outside one's regular field of distribution for new retail outlets has its heartaches, but also its compensations.

Family Day

Recently, the huge East Pittsburgh Works of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company held a Family Day at the plant. Families and



friends of its employees were invited to visit the factory. Exactly 35,632 accepted the invitation. They were fed ice cream, saw the latest Westinghouse inventions, watched demonstrations of the magic power of electricity, etc. An interesting by-

product was the sale of a number of refrigerators and other appliances. Here's an idea that many factories could adopt with profit.

Easy-To-Show Tubs

A bathtub on wheels is an idea developed by the Briggs plumbing ware division, of the same company that is famous for Briggs auto bodies. The company wanted to show plumbers actual models of its tubs. Therefore it ripped out the rear seat and luggage compartment of a few cars, and cosily nestled the tubs in the space. Now, when a Briggs car pulls up in front of a plumber's establishment he can walk outside and thumb



the tub, or do whatever a plumber does when he wants to find out how good a tub really is.

Return Trip: 1 Cent

Remember when the Liggett drug chain started the "penny sale" idea—two for the price of one, plus an extra penny? The idea has strayed far afield since then, but who would expect to see a railroad take it up? The Boston & Maine Railroad has tried the plan on round trips between Boston and a few North Shore points. The round trip was priced at one cent more than the regular one-way fare. The experiment has been so successful that it is now being extended. It's a small world when it comes to the adaption or outright adoption of merchandising ideas. Industrial and geographical boundaries fall when ideas start moving. The moral is: Don't confine your search for ideas to your own industry. You will find many a good idea in fields as far removed as furs and hair coiffures, bananas and binoculars.

Money for Food

When money again flows easily into the family coffer, one of the first things on which the family splurges—after autos and house furnishings—is food. For which reason it was expected that this Thanksgiving and Christmas will have witnessed a revival in the buying of luxurious foods such as has not been known since 1929. Dried foods, nuts, rare delicacies of all kinds show evidence of heavy demand. Like an army, prosperity marches on its stomach.

OUR DISPUTED CONSTITUTION

BY LOUIS P. EISNER

Times have changed as a century and a half slip by, and our ancient charter of liberties has broadened with the country. Here is the second of three interpretive articles on a redhot subject.

IF ONE OF the Founding Fathers could come back to us today, he would find the language of the Constitution almost unchanged, but he would be astounded at many changes wrought in its fundamental provisions which do violence to its original spirit and intention. He would find the average citizen little recognizing or understanding such radical changes but stubbornly harboring the conviction, amounting to a superstition, that the government as originally devised has remained unchanged throughout the course of the fusion of the country's interests and the annihilation of its distance.

He would find that the Constitution's theory of tri-partite division and separation of the powers of government has all but disappeared and that each of the separate departments is encroaching upon basic duties and functions of the others; that the boundary lines of the independent and sovereign states of the Union have been all but effaced; and that governmental power to an extent never contemplated or intended by the Founders has become centralized in the national system.

Now People Choose

He would find the electoral system, designed to prevent the people from choosing the President, completely emasculated by the mushroom growth of nominating conventions, platforms, and political parties which, with the sanction of Federal regulation, have reduced the constitutional electors to mere puppets.

He would find the President's term traditionally limited to eight years, although the Constitution contains no such limitation; and membership in the lower house dependent upon district residence, although the Constitution specifies no such prerequisite.

He would discover a most radical

change in the office of the President which was intended to be a mere isolated agency of Congress, vested with control over legislation, constitutionally limited to convening and adjourning Congress, signing or vetoing its bills and delivering its formal reports and recommendations. Instead he would find the President the guiding spirit of Congress, exercising a puissant control over legislation through the force of party leadership and the wide disposition of political patronage.

Too Much Executive

He would witness the executive drafting measures of the prime importance which the Constitution intended Congress to author, directing his congressional cohorts to expostulate his legislative wishes, dispatching his underlings to hearings to expound his legislative philosophies, approving outline acts of Congress leaving details to his sole discretion, fixing tariffs and duties and exercising overlordship over colonies.

He would find the President creating a myriad of commissions and boards and departments for the exercise of a judicial power never expressed or specified in the Constitution. If he could visit some of these executive "courts", he would witness them admitting attorneys to practice, issuing subpoenas, punishing contempts, taking depositions, conducting trials, writing opinions, establishing precedents, and entering decisions having the force of judgments which are appealable to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and to the United States Supreme Court, exactly as are judgments of regularly constituted district courts of the United States.

He would discover the President wielding the independent power of a potentate over foreign affairs, not

even short of throwing the nation into a state of war; and laying down doctrines, conducting negotiations, establishing protectorates, dismissing diplomats, executing treaties (called "conventions"), recognizing foreign states, abrogating treaties, issuing proclamations and broadcasting international denunciations, all notwithstanding the fact that none of these prerogatives is expressed in the Constitution.

Historical examples of such exercise which readily come to mind are Monroe's doctrine, Polk's declaration of war against Mexico, Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Cleveland's recognition of insurgency in Cuba, McKinley's dispatch of the battleship *Maine*, Taft's abrogation of the Russian treaty, Coolidge's "protectorate" over Nicaragua, and Roosevelt's recognition of Soviet Russia.

What of Congress?

If the Founding Father could then visit the Congress, he would discover that its powers, remaining unsurpassed by the President, have been ceded to the party caucus and the steering committee which wield a dictatorial club over legislators, not short of political excommunication in the cases of serious bolters. He would witness the congressional exercise of a veto power over legislation, not granted by the Constitution, through the simple expedient of pigeon-holing bills in committees; and he would observe the legislature, in the manner of the judiciary, conducting hearings (frequently designed to limit the executive), subpoenaing witnesses, citing contempts, and indeed presuming to decide questions of the constitutionality of legislation, a function which the Founders intended the President to perform through his veto power.

Lastly, if he could make a tour of

the various departments, he would discover that a cabinet has become deeply imbedded in our system which the Constitution never directed the President to formulate. He would learn that that body, originally informal, through the force of custom has become as much a part of our governmental structure as the Constitution itself.

And he would discover that most of this, and much more, had been accomplished with the written consent and approval of the Supreme Court of the United States, an institution which was intended to be an *interpreter* and not a *censor* or *creator* of the laws of the land.

When the Supreme Court was organized by the Judiciary Act of 1789 (Senate Bill No. 1 of the first session of the first Congress), it was merely a shell. The constitutional delegate Randolph referred to it as a "hospital for decayed politicians". Hamilton asserted that it was the weakest of the three governmental divisions, having "neither force nor will".

John Jay, its first Chief Justice, resigned his exalted position to become a gubernatorial candidate. Later when the chief justiceship was offered back to him, he declined to take it stating that the court was hopelessly weak and would so remain. John Rutledge, the second Chief Justice (for only one session of the court), paid it tribute while an associate justice by resigning in order to become a supreme court justice of South Carolina; and Oliver Ellsworth, the third Chief Justice, likewise resigned.

Little To Do

The number of cases pending before the court, prior to 1801, averaged less than half a dozen a year. When in that year John Marshall ascended the bench as the court's fourth Chief Justice, the average had increased to ten cases a year. During the next five years it annually averaged twenty-four cases.

An analysis of the constitutional provisions setting up our highest tribunal will demonstrate that the court was intended by the Founders to be deficient in power and force. Its important appellate jurisdiction, through the medium of which it has scrutinized the constitutionality of statutes, is dependent entirely upon the whim of Congress for it is expressly made subject to such exceptions and such regulations as Congress shall prescribe. Nor have congressional efforts to denude the court of that power been wanting. Take the *McCardle* habeas corpus case, for instance, which was brought in order to test the validity of the Reconstruction Act of 1867. While that

case was pending (and it looked bad for the government) Congress passed an act forbidding the court to exercise any jurisdiction in appeals already taken or which might subsequently be taken in habeas corpus cases. The court bowed before this congressional mandate and refrained from deciding the case.

How Many Judges?

Congress is given the right to determine the number of judges, and it can load the bench to a membership of one thousand or reduce it to one. And the number can be jockeyed about to produce results as was done in President Johnson's administration when Congress, over presidential veto, reduced the number to seven to prevent the President from filling vacancies. During Grant's administration the number was increased to nine to enable the President to override the court's condemnation of the *Legal Tender* Act. In the latter instance, the court's unpopular four to three invalidation of the act was promptly converted by the vote of the two new justices into a five to four approval thereof.

And Congress can annihilate the court by simply holding back the purse strings, inasmuch as all appropriations for its existence must emanate from Congress.

Parenthetically, it might be stated that one of the latest plans to limit the power of the court was sponsored by Senator William E. Borah, who advocated the deprivation of the court's power to invalidate legislation except by a vote of seven of the nine justices.

Today we take for granted the court's power to declare congressional statutes unconstitutional, but that power was never expressly conferred by the Constitution. Madison made an effort to have it go in by advocating that the judiciary be empowered to unite with the executive in vetoing legislative acts, but his suggestion was not adopted.

Had the court exercised such veto power more frequently in its formative stages, perhaps this essay might never have been written. However, in the first sixty-nine years of the court's existence, it exercised it only once and that time it had little practical effect upon the body politic.

It all started with an obscure justice of the peace named *Marbury*, of Washington, D. C. President Adams had appointed him to his position but had omitted to deliver him his commission. Consequently *Marbury* sued Secretary of State Madison in the Supreme Court to *mandamus* (compel) him to hand it over. To bolster his case, *Marbury* pointed out that a

congressional statute had been passed fourteen years back under which the Supreme Court had previously acted, specifically giving the court the original jurisdiction to try his case. However, Chief Justice Marshall and his colleagues observed that the court's original (as distinguished from appellate) jurisdiction was set forth in the Constitution itself, was limited to cases in which a state or a foreign diplomat was a party, and that the power to try citizens' *mandamus* cases was not included. The court therefore held that Congress could not add to the Constitution, and that its statutory effort to do so was a nullity.

In this manner was born a right which no other country in the world has tolerated; and thus died the Founders' basic theory of checks and balances. For while the Supreme Court undertook in this manner to check and balance the legislative and executive departments, who was there left to check and balance the court once it had made a decision?

The second time the court exercised the power, it brought about the Civil War (and gave birth to the Republican Party) by ruling that Congress could not constitutionally legislate *Dred Scott* (colored) to freedom.

To date, only sixty-four cases have ruled out congressional statutes—two before the Civil War, twenty-three more to 1900, thirty-five more to 1928, none at all between 1928 and 1935, and four so far this year. With but few exceptions these cases were of small importance in the shaping of the nation's destiny.

The Court Loses

It is interesting to note that in the three most important cases (*ante* Roosevelt), the court itself was subsequently overruled. The *Dred Scott* case was reversed by the Civil War; the income tax case, referred to in the last article, by a constitutional amendment; and the *Legal Tender* case by Grant's loading the court with new members to insure quick reversal.

Far more important than the decisions holding congressional statutes unconstitutional were the ones in which the court sustained them, for it was through the medium of the court's approval of such legislation that the national government assumed to extend and expand into vast powers the authority conferred upon it by the Constitution. It was because of the court's sanction of national legislation that Jefferson was impelled to dub it "a subtle corps of sappers and miners"; that Bryce called the Constitution "the loophole for expansion and extension in the

scheme of government"; that Coolidge referred to it as "the aptest instrument for the discovery of laws", and that for years lawyers have referred to our highest tribunal as "the court of ultimate conjecture".

The frankest statement of all came from the late Justice Holmes, who conceded that "judges do and must legislate".

Let us take a few important words from the Constitution and compare the meaning intended by the Founders to be ascribed to them with the meaning created by Supreme Court "legislation" and "amendment". It is not the object of this article to comment upon the wisdom of the court's interpretations, but merely to record its conclusions. Let us start with the commerce clause which reads as follows:

"Congress shall have the power*** to regulate commerce***among the several states****".

What Commerce Was

Now "commerce" in the early days did not and does not mean industry or business. It meant the transportation of commodities for profit between states by horse and boat. When the Constitution was adopted there just wasn't any interstate industry.

Early in its career the Supreme Court, through the great welder Chief Justice Marshall, decided that "commerce" was not merely "traffic" in commodities between the citizens of states; that it included all "intercourse" between them as well. Thus by the Court's substitution of the word "intercourse" for "commerce", the national government has been put in position to exercise regulatory control over American industry.

It has regulated the transmitting of "ideas" (as distinguished from goods) over state lines through the medium of the telephone, telegraph, and wireless; the broadcasting of entertainment, advertisement, and propaganda over the radio; the transmitting of power over electric wires and oil through pipe lines; the travel of passengers irrespective of commercial design; the transporting of merchandise by land or air; all navigation whether interstate or intrastate; the conduct of correspondence schools, and so forth.

Through the court's amendment of the word "commerce", the national government has been vested with a police power (defined as a power to protect and promote the health, welfare, safety, and morals of the people) never conferred by the Framers. Under the federal "police power" Congress, under the guise of regulating "commerce", has prohibited such immoral practices as white

slavery, adulteration of goods and drugs, lotteries, kidnapping, and transporting stolen automobiles. Fugitive felons and witnesses have been prohibited from traveling "in interstate commerce". Convict-made goods have been barred as imports. "Investment" bankers have been restricted in selling fraudulent securities. Citizens have been prevented from carrying contraband, or conveying on their persons certain articles for family use.

Our liberals have contended that the court, having once vested the national government with "police power", might well have broadened that power to prohibit such immoral, unsafe, and unhealthy conditions as slavery, child labor, sweatshops, and unfair industrial and labor practices; but the court to date has failed to stretch the power far enough to cover these items.

Nor has the word "commerce" alone been enlarged by the court. The word "regulate" has been shaped and stretched as well. For instance, the word "exclusively" has been prefixed to the word "regulate" so that it is now substantially correct to state that the Supreme Court has given Congress the power to "exclusively" regulate interstate "intercourse". And "regulate" has been variously construed to mean "prohibit", "create", "operate", "control", and "subsidize". Utilizing such amended construction, Congress has passed compensation laws for the benefit of injured employees; has laid down rules for their safety; has created, operated, and controlled highways, bridges, canals and railroads; has subsidized ships and airplanes; has fixed telephone, telegraph, and railroad rates; has prevented rebates, free passage, or discrimination; has forbidden the issuance of stocks and bonds; has compelled the filing of uniform reports; has effected the consolidation of railroads; has prevented railroads from transporting its own commodities; has restrained "unreasonable" trusts and monopolies (the word "unreasonable" having been added to the act of Congress by the court); and has even arbitrated labor disputes and suppressed strikes and boycotts, all because they might affect commerce.

What Taxes Were

Now let us take the power given to Congress "to lay and collect taxes". The Framers intended the word "tax" to mean that and nothing more. They never intended it to mean to *create*, to *regulate*, or to *prohibit*. Yet through the court's construction of the tax power, Congress has been enabled to create, regulate, and even

destroy large industries. Through the medium of taxation Congress, even before prohibition, regulated the liquor industry. It has regulated and still regulates tobacco, narcotics, and firearms. It destroyed the oleomargarine business. Under the guise of depositing tax moneys, it created a bank structure consisting of National Banks, Federal Farm Banks, and a Federal Reserve System which not only receives tax money deposits but also carries on each and every branch of a general banking business. Strange as it may sound, robbing a national bank is a crime against the tax power!

Prior to the child labor legislation which imposed taxes upon articles produced through the labor of children, the court did not feel constrained to look behind the tax power for the motive underlying the tax. But in the child labor cases it carefully scrutinized the tax imposed, found that its purpose was to destroy businesses employing child labor, and by a vote of five to four the Supreme Court labelled the child labor tax as unconstitutional.

In Re, Money

The Constitution gives Congress the power to "coin money". The Framers intended that power to mean to stamp pieces of metal. Indeed the Supreme Court originally found that that was just what it meant. Later, by a five to four vote, it ruled that the power to coin money included the right to print paper money and to compel its acceptance as legal tender.

The Constitution gives federal courts the right to hear controversies "between citizens of different states". The Framers could not have intended to include *corporations*, else they would have added that word. Originally the court held that a corporation was obviously not a "citizen". Subsequently it reversed itself and found that corporations were "citizens" and that federal courts could properly entertain suits between citizens and corporations of different states. Through the force of this construction, corporations have been enabled to perch peacefully under the Constitution.

The Constitution gives the national government the power "to establish post offices". The word "establish" was not intended to mean "regulate" or "suppress". Yet the court has added to Congress' postal power the police power to regulate advertising, suppress fraudulent businesses, prohibit immoral literature, and even to prevent the circulation of radical papers in times of national emergency.

The Constitution prohibits states
(Continued on page 7)

THE BOTTLE NECK OF PRODUCTION

BY DONALD A. LAIRD

Finding men of sufficient intelligence to operate complex modern machinery is the most vital problem of industry today. Each year the national average of general ability drops lower.

WHEN the Ford Motor Company a few years ago abandoned the famous Model T it ran into a problem which shows that machines at times become secondary to man.

One of its officials said: "It has been men, not machinery, that have delayed us. Work on the new Ford requires more skill in the workman than was the case with the old Model T. All our men have had to be re-educated. This has been a tremendous job, and where human beings are concerned calculations are likely to err. That is one of the chief reasons why we have not been able to meet our production expectations so far."

Mechanize industry all you possibly can, and the individual operative will still be the bottle-neck of production. Whenever a new machine is adopted there is a job for the psychologist.

In some quarters the opinion exists that industry is encouraging those of low intelligence. These comments of amateur industrial observers and professional reformers may need discounting, but they should be taken seriously. My observation has been that the principal difficulty within the industry is locating as many "good" intelligenced workers as are needed.

I have been in rather close touch, for example, with a Chicago employer of 6,000 men who do not need intelligence greater than that of a 10-year-old child. The pressing difficulty of this employer is obtaining enough men with that much intelligence. This is no reflection on Chicago, for the same situation prevails everywhere. His prime task has changed from weeding-out intelligent applicants, to a prestige publicity drive to encourage more applicants of higher intelligence.

When the workings of a concern change, through a new invention or a change in the kind of product, there is likely to be much hardship on the workers who are not familiar with,

William Rittase



SKILLED

The efficiency of this expensive machine is throttled down to the ability of the shoe factory worker. Here is the weakest link in all mechanization of industry.

or adapted to, the changed operations. That is when craft re-education is needed, and when it should be guided on the basis of the man's aptitudes.

A successful experiment in craft re-education was reported last July by Nash Motor Company's Milwaukee affiliate, the Seaman Body Corporation. Nash's change-over from wood-and-steel to all-steel body construction affected every third man of the plant's body assembly workers. Woodworkers were encouraged to choose new occupations. However, in many cases the foremen made corrective shifts, often trying a man on six jobs before finding one he could master.

The woodworkers were placed among trained crews as apprentices, at apprentice wages. They graduated to skilled status as soon as the foremen decided that re-education was complete. About one month was required to adapt the men to arc and acetylene welding. Other occupations mastered were flash and spot welding, upholstering, painting, trimming, sound-proofing, wiring. New luxury fittings inside the cars created jobs that did not conflict with established trades. Some 300 men, ages ranging from 24 to 69, were readjusted in a little over a year.

Few general inferences on re-educational possibilities can be drawn from the success of that experiment, for the men involved were of the highly skilled type. The obvious and comforting conclusion is that such men are never too old to learn, and that if they are possessed of even fair intelligence and are given opportunity then no great problem exists. The difficulty is that the rank-and-file is made up of far too many who are mentally incapable of ever at any time acquiring skill at any occupation.

One Out of Three

Persons with low general ability are more numerous, and cause more of a problem, than many realize. Surveys among the casual laborers of the west and midwest—those floaters who shift from harvesting beet sugar to the wheat fields and to the California fruit and hop harvests—reveal that every third man, and woman, in their number is so deficient in general ability as to be plainly mentally defective. When the problem of handling the unemployed, and unemployable, is dealt with, these factors should be borne in view. Nearly one million feeble-minded persons are at large in the United States, persons unable to make good on any job—and yet there are many evidences, as well as statistics on relief expenditures, to prove that it is these persons with woefully inadequate general ability who are increasing in the population.

Recall that estimate of a million. Then consider these facts to see that it is probably conservative. During the World War the medical examiners of the local draft boards kept many obviously feeble-minded men from being sent to camp. Yet from among the young men actually sent to the camps there were 7,800 discharged because their general ability was scarcely higher than an idiot's. Some 10,000 others were kept in the army, but having too little general intelligence to be of any direct military usefulness they were placed in development battalions where they peeled potatoes and picked up rubbish and paper from the drill grounds.

There were, in fact, 46,000 men kept in service who did not have more general ability than the average 10-year-old child back home in the grade school. These were grown-up men, all between 20 and 30 years of age. Do some figuring to see what the total would have been had all age groups of men, and women as well as men, been included.

Permanent Dole

The growing number of persons with inadequate general ability has become worse with each generation. It is conceded that the dole is likely to be a continuing burden to American taxpayers. While a considerable number of intelligent people have, in this depression, been reduced to the breadline, it is also worth noting that several millions of incompetents at any occupation have, in being placed on free government relief, been raised to new heights of opulence. And in 1934, it is said, there were one million children born to persons on the dole. So fattens a self-perpetuating octopus, hastening to an inevitable end, national decay.

Each generation sees some lowering of the American average of general ability. Worth repeating here are several statements from my preceding article on illiteracy, "The Tail That Wags the Nation", which appeared in the November REVIEW OF REVIEWS: Although we have practically no immigration, and despite the fact that we have more and better schools and compulsory education, the lowering process goes on insidiously, due almost entirely to the differential in the birth rates of the various ability groups. The smaller the general ability, the larger the number of children.

One-fourth—possibly more—of the general population of this country have such meager mentalities that the selling of merchandise to them must be done in the simplest possible terms. For them, also, industrial tasks must be measured in pretty simple terms. This job of simplifying both sales and

jobs to fit the general level of the population varies from one section of the country to another, as does the problem of the dole. Some of the occupations suitable for 7 to 10-year-old mentalities were listed in the November article. We are accustomed to deplore the gullibility of this class, which renders them easy victims of the slick salesman, the crooked politician, and the selfish union leader. In truth, these business men's burdens are so malaprop that they take advantage of themselves.

Selling methods and working methods also have to be adjusted to the nationality as well as to the geographical groups we are working with, for the variations in general ability are even more marked from one national group to another in the United States than they are from one state to another.

We must always remember, of course, that there is a range of general ability within these groups, that there are some individuals who rate high, and some who rate low. But we are dealing with how the different persons add up together and come out in the average, with the average person of these groups who is likely to come to the counter in our stores, answer the door bell, or come to our employment office looking for a job.

The various groups within the country, we have discovered, line up in general ability as follows, this being above the average of the country. English ranks highest, then Scotch, Dutch from Holland, and the Germans. Now, working below the average of the country, we find the Danes slightly below, then the Swedes, a bit farther down, followed by the Norwegians, Belgians, Irish, Austrians, Turks, Greeks, Russians, Italians, and Poles, in the order listed. Negroes average a little below all the other groups.

Simple Sales Appeals

Back in the old countries the situation may be different. Russians in Russia may be higher in general ability than the average of all the whites in this country. So we should not consider that the above listing represents the native lands. The list does, however, show what business men are up against in this country, how selling to the Dutch around Holland, Michigan, is likely to be different from the same sales job with the New Haven Italians and how getting tool-makers is easier in German Cincinnati than in Polish Buffalo.

Some of the "smart business" of a generation ago thus comes home to roost—and to haunt. The wealthy New England mill owner who im-

(Continued on page 61)

Time for Bed



CHILDREN must have the proper amount of sleep in order to grow, to fight off disease, to become alert mentally and strong physically. Foremost child experts prescribe the definite amounts of sleep which children should have at various ages (shown in the chart). A child should be in the right frame of mind when he goes to bed. If he has been unduly excited, it is difficult for him to relax.

Adults, too, should have the proper amount of sleep. Each day they burn up tissue which rest helps to restore at night. During hours of physical and mental activity the body accumulates fatigue poisons which are thrown off in sleep.

Pain, worry, bad digestion are sleep-thieves. Prolonged loss of sleep makes one irritable and below par, mentally and physically. The tendency to insomnia may often be successfully combated in various ways—sometimes by taking a walk before going to bed—reading a non-exciting book—drinking a cup of hot milk, but above all, by learning to relax. Let go of every muscle, ease every tension, drop your problems until tomorrow and let



SLEEP REQUIRED BY THE AVERAGE CHILD

One of the most valuable things you can do for your child is to insist that he gets enough sleep. Make sure that he receives his full amount of Nature's great builder and restorer—sleep.

Age	Hours of sleep needed
At birth	20 to 22 hours*
At 6 months	16 to 18 hours*
At 1 year	14 to 16 hours*
2 to 5 years	13 to 15 hours*
6 to 7 "	12 hours
8 to 10 "	11 hours
11 to 12 "	10 to 11 hours
13 to 15 "	10 to 12 hours

*Including daytime sleep

(Compiled from U.S. Children's Bureau Folder 11, "Why Sleep?")

yourself sink into the bed instead of holding yourself rigidly on top of it. Even though you do not actually go to sleep, such repose will bring a good measure of health repair. But when loss of sleep is persistent, a physician should be consulted.

Sleep sweeps away the mental cobwebs from tired brains, recharges wearied muscles, rebuilds worn tissue and gives the heart its nearest approach to rest. Send for a copy of our free booklet entitled "Sleep." Address Booklet Department 1235-V.

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

FREDERICK H. ECKER, PRESIDENT

ONE MADISON AVE., NEW YORK, N. Y.

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THE PULSE OF BUSINESS

We print data here which show a steady and remarkable increase in business activity during recent weeks. The forward movement is due to various factors, quite unrelated and some possibly transitory.

OUR INDEX of general business, compiled weekly, rises to heights not reached in more than two years.

One needs to go back to the vigorous upswing that followed the bank holiday and the inauguration of President Roosevelt to find higher levels. The peak then was 78 per cent of normal, but that bubble thereupon promptly collapsed.

Standing at 72.0 for the week ended November 9, our index compares with a recent low of 62.1 in early October. Hardly an item fails to reflect marked improvement, especially if we make allowance for the Election Day holiday and its influence upon such things as bank debits and bond sales.

Stock sales in mid-November were at their highest volume since February 1934. This activity, fortunately, had been accompanied by a pronounced rise in market values. It was a notable bull movement, slow, fairly steady, and quite prolonged. The Dow-Jones average of 30 industrial stocks advanced, for example, from 97 in the middle of March to 145 in the middle of November, a gain of more than 50 per cent.

The latest phase of this optimism in Wall Street had resulted from its interpretation of election returns, and from a court decision that if sustained will nullify the public-utility holding company "death sentence". Government officials, also, exuded cheer.

Verification of this widespread belief that business gains are actual is found in our index figure for merchandise carloadings (as distinguished from commodity carloadings such as grain and coal). At 78 per cent of normal for the week ended November 9, this is the highest point reached since 1931.

For a time in June and July, this year, the total cars of revenue freight loaded weekly were consistently falling short of their 1933 and 1934 marks. Business improvement was slipping. But in September, October, and early November the mercury in our freight barometer was soaring into altitudes

not reached in more than four years.

Steel production, at 72 per cent of seasonal normal as we write (or 54 per cent of capacity) reaches its highest index point since June 1934. For steel makers this has been by far the steadiest year of their depression. Percentage of capacity has not fallen below 32 nor risen above 56. By contrast in 1934 it ranged from 19 to 60. Only one period of five weeks found steel mills in 1935 operating at less than 40 per cent of capacity, whereas half of 1934 was below that level.

Automobile production exerts an undue influence upon our index of general business, as a result of the shifting of the season for introducing new models. Instead of next January, new cars made their bow in November; and cars were placed in dealers' showrooms throughout the country. Production was stepped-up abnormally. Thus our index of automobile production reaches the astonishing figure of 121 per cent of normal, even after some readjustment for the new seasonal factor; and there is nothing

GENERAL BUSINESS INDICES

	Weight Factor	Oct. 19	Oct. 26	Nov. 2	Nov. 9	Nov. 10 1934
FINANCIAL ACTIVITY						
Stock Sales, N. Y. Stock Exchange.....	2	36	46	49	54	16
Bond Sales, N. Y. Stock Exchange.....	1	82	87	86	91	91
Money Rates	4	12	12	12	13	20
New Financing	2	66	53	65	74	27
Bank Debits, N. Y. City.....	4	42	43	39	42	33
Deposit Circulation, N. Y. City.....	4	37	37	34	39	34
Index of FINANCIAL ACTIVITY	17	38	38	38	43	31
DISTRIBUTION						
Bank Debits, outside N. Y. City.....	10	70	72	65	67	60
Deposit Circulation, outside N. Y. City..	10	83	86	76	79	78
Merchandise Carloadings	11	76	77	77	78	70
Index of DISTRIBUTION	31	73	75	71	73	65
PRODUCTION						
Bituminous Coal.....	3	59	59	72	76	70
Crude Oil	3	107	108	112	112	95
Commodity Carloadings.....	8	64	63	66	68	59
Electric Power.....	7	76	75	78	78	71
Steel Production.....	9	67	69	70	72	35
Automobile Production.....	6	51	72	95	121	55
Construction Contracts.....	11	63	64	60	65	44
Cotton Consumption.....	5	67	80	94	107	59
Index of PRODUCTION	52	68	73	81	91	55
INDEX OF GENERAL BUSINESS						
	100	63.9	66.7	68.1	72.0	54.1

A COMPARATIVE record, for weeks ending with Saturday. The figures represent percentage of normal. The "distribution" items are all based upon an average for the years 1926-31; new financing, automobile production, and cotton consumption, upon 1927-31; and construction contracts upon 1928-32. All others use 1919-1931 as normal or 100.

Deposit circulation outside of New York City is not included in the index of distribution, but is allowed for in the final index of general business. Carloadings and coal data are always of the previous week. Electric power is adjusted for population growth, construction contracts for changing price level.

★ WHO'S WHO BEHIND YOUR STOCKS?

When a man buys a house he ex-
Why not inquire into the stock
you contemplate buying in the same
amines it from end to end, inquires
into the title, taxes, the neighbor-
hood, schools, transportation, pos-
sible street improvements, and every
imaginable detail.

way? Who heads the company be-
hind it? Are they capable, respon-
sible men? What kind of a record
have they made for the company
since 1929? Have they brought it
out of the depression? Are pros-
pects for dividends in sight? Are
there any political or other events
on the horizon that might affect the
business adversely?

These are facts you should know
about every stock you hold or plan
to buy.

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particulars below). We list some
typical inquiries:

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continue holding the following
stocks: American Radiator and
S. S. Co., U. S. Hoffman Machine
Co., Packard Motors, United States
Fidelity and Guaranty Co., Crown
Central Petroleum Co., Consoli-
dated American Royal Corporation?

"Do you advise the purchase at
present prices of Ohio Oil Co. and
Radio Corporation of America?

"Do you have available any in-
formation as to the principal stock-
holders and their holdings in the
Crown Central Petroleum Co.?"

"Would like your opinion and
recommendation on the following
securities which I contemplate buy-
ing: Continental Bank & Trust Co.,
New York; Investors' Fund of
America; Group Securities, Inc.;
Royalty Income Shares (Series A).

"I own some Warner Pictures. Is
this to be held or sold?"

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am listing on separate sheet, together with
questions which I wish specifically an-
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that we can do about it. The best of
indexes can be thrown out of balance
by a major change such as the arbi-
trary shift in a season!

It has been a good year for motor
makers. Production will reach 3.7
million passenger cars and trucks. At
the low point in 1932 only 1.4 million
were turned out.

Stepping outside the scope of our
index of general business, let us look
for a moment at the welfare of those
millions of farmers who form by far
the largest block of our people. The
Department of Agriculture reports
(on November 9) that receipts from
the sale of 33 principal farm products
had reached 4215 million dollars by
the end of September. For compari-
son it may be stated that in the same
months of 1934 receipts were 3892
million; in 1933, 3238 million; in 1932,
3084 million.

In addition to this gain in cash in-
come from the fruit of his labors, the
farmer this year (in the first eight
months only) received 350 million
dollars from Uncle Sam in "benefits".

Total farm income for three-fourths
of the year (with September rental
and benefit payments not yet avail-
able) may be stated thusly:

	1935	1934
Farm products	\$4,215,217,000	\$3,892,052,000
Benefit payments	349,614,000	250,319,000
	<hr/> \$4,564,831,000	<hr/> \$4,142,421,000

It is a gain of 422 million dollars
for the American farmer. For him
1935 takes its proper place in the
series, each year better than the last.

Better Crops

The Government's November crop
report indicates a yield of 2211 million
bushels of corn, compared with last
year's drought yield of 1377 million
bushels, and a five-year average of
2562 million.

Wheat totaled 599 million bushels,
compared with 497 million last year
as a result of drought, and a five-year
average of 861 million.

Our oats crop is twice as large as in
1934, barley more than twice as large.
Rye more than three times as large.
Potato yield, in spite of rumored over-
planting as a result of idle acreage, is
smaller than last year and smaller than
the five-year average.

Not only were the principal crops
larger than last year, but the farmer
has found himself getting somewhat
better prices. With rye and oats and
barley, of course, prices were down
because of the larger crops. On top
of all this comes the farmer's special
reward from Uncle Sam, for keeping
production down, known as benefits.

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Should F. D. R. Worry About 1936?

(Continued from page 21)

south, the border, most of the western states beginning with the Rockies, and a good toe-hold in the farm belt. The result might hang up his success in the farm belt and in carrying New York state. It would seem that whichever party carries New York state could be reasonably sure of winning. Woodrow Wilson in 1916 won without New York state, but that is the only exception to the rule since the Civil War.

Republican hopes depend upon how rapidly the tide, which has now turned against Roosevelt and the New Deal, gains momentum. In recent years the development of radio, news reels, and other instruments of mass appeal have stepped up the speed of popular reactions.

Father Coughlin goes on the air and the next day thousands of letters pour into the offices of Senators and Representatives in Congress. His radio attack on the World Court, which resulted in probably 100,000 telegrams and letters being sent to Washington, is credited with having turned the vote of the Senate against the World Court last winter.

We saw Hoover sweep the country and even break into the Solid South in 1928, and then go down one of the worst defeated of men four years later.

We saw repeal roll through overwhelmingly a few months after political leaders had tried to dodge the issue because of their fear of Dry strength.

Our mass reactions, indeed, have speeded up to a point where the change may take place before the politicians are aware of it, an undertow of public opinion so swift that the political leaders, floating on the surface, are the last to know the true situation.

No Friend of Business

Certainly Mr. Roosevelt has incurred the almost unanimous enmity of the business community. He has a large proportion of the daily newspapers—outside of the Democratic South—against him. Groups which normally control the channels of communication in this country, the principal spokesmen of opinion, occupying the strategic spots in our social and economic organization, are against him. His danger is that their constant hammering will break down his ramparts which are mainly the inarticulate masses, the more direct beneficiaries of his policies.

Congress is soon to return. That always is bad news for the man in the White House. Mr. Roosevelt's

popularity dropped steadily during the last session of Congress, and then—according to a poll taken by the American Institute of Public Opinion—it began to rise again. A congressional session is a period of controversy. The opposition has its best sounding board and makes the maximum use of it. Factions and conflicting interests within the Administration party precipitate difficulties. The President is compelled to set forth definite policies, which inevitably displease certain groups, and he is harassed by a multitude of annoyances which present an ensemble decidedly not to the advantage of the man in the White House.

The Administration is aware of this, and its leaders already have made plain that they will do everything within their power to cut the session short and to confine legislative activities to routine appropriations and a minimum of new business.

More Treasury Raids

That is a hope more easily held than realized. In the coming session we are certain to have another attempted bonus raid, probably one that will succeed. Townsendites are gaining strength in the West and agitation in Congress to placate these determined forces is probable. Relief is bound to cause embarrassment for Mr. Roosevelt, as it should in view of the miserable handling of the program launched a year ago. Republicans—silently, if not overtly, abetted by many within the President's own party—will hammer away at the wasteful expenditures.

For the first time since the Civil War the Supreme Court may have a major influence upon the political currents.

For instance, Republicans are delaying their formulation of a farm policy until they learn what the Supreme Court does with AAA. It is impossible for them to take a position until they know whether the processing taxes are to be thrown out.

Mr. Roosevelt will be affected by what the Court says about the Guffey coal act, the National Labor Relations act, the Utilities act, and other major measures. He is not anxious to press the Constitution issue which he raised in his discussion of the NRA decision. But a series of anti-New Deal decisions from the Supreme Court undoubtedly would be a challenge to him to go to the country and present the question as to whether a group of nine men, appointed for life, were to be permitted to override the desires of Congress and the Administration straight down the line and to attempt

to legislate from the bench on matters of social policy. On the other hand, if the Court goes this way and that, approving some measures and rejecting others, the issue will not be clear-cut and probably will not figure as a major point of controversy.

Something also depends upon what the Republicans do. Basically, Mr. Roosevelt's own actions will be the test, but thousands of voters will be influenced by what comes out of the Republican convention. If the eastern Old Guard influences pick the candidate and determine the policy, and launch the party into a head-on collision with the New Deal, then it is reasonable to assume that many liberal-minded voters, normally Republican, will stay with Roosevelt. If Hoover dominates the party, the liberals will be inclined to stay with Roosevelt.

But if a liberal-minded Republican like Governor Landon is chosen, and a platform is adopted which recognizes that conditions are not the same as they were in Mark Hanna's day, then many voters will switch back from Roosevelt to their normal Republican side of the ballot. The Roosevelt regime has been notoriously weak in administration. It has been jumpy, confused, haphazard, wasteful. Thousands of voters resent that. Yet many of them approve the objectives for which Mr. Roosevelt is striving. Republicans will make a mistake if they confuse the desire for sound administration with a desire to go back to Herbert Hoover.

A Fighting Chance

It is all very well for Republicans to talk about not being wishy-washy and to indulge in grandiose gestures about throwing out the New Deal, lock, stock, and barrel, to brand it as communistic, to picture Roosevelt at a dictator. That makes good copy for the newspaper headline writers, but it underrates the intelligence of the American citizen. If it didn't he ought to be under a dictatorship, for it would prove that he is not smart enough to govern himself.

So if the Republicans place themselves in the hands of Mr. Hilles and those he represents, Mr. Roosevelt can forget about the election, in this observer's opinion. But if the Republicans again take up the progressive tradition established by Theodore Roosevelt, attach it to a man who believes in the application of sound administration and business methods to the progressive and humanitarian ideals of government, Mr. Roosevelt will have to fight and fight hard.

That the President is aware of the

situation is evident by his conduct within the last few months. Since the death of Huey Long his tactics have changed. While the Kingfish was alive, Mr. Roosevelt was constantly in fear of attack from his rear and attempting to defend himself with rear-guard actions. That was the motive behind his hasty, ill-advised share-the-wealth which went so sour toward the end of the last session of Congress. He realized his mistake perhaps. At any rate, the death of Huey Long afforded opportunity to change tack, which was done in the "breathing spell" letter to Roy W. Howard.

"Certain elements of business have been growing more hostile to your Administration," wrote the newspaper publisher in September to his friend in the White House. He wrote even more: "Many business men who once gave you sincere support are now not merely hostile, they are frightened. . . . There can be no real recovery until the fears of business have been allayed through the granting of a breathing spell to industry, and a recess from further experimentation.

The President hastened to reply that "the breathing spell of which you speak is here—very decidedly so."

On his trip across the country, toward the end of September, Mr. Roosevelt further sought to reassure business. His Fremont farm speech was really an argument to convince the East that AAA meant smoke from factory chimneys in Pittsburgh. At Boulder Dam, instead of dreaming of hydro-electric utopians under government ownership, Mr. Roosevelt stressed that he hoped private business would now take over the responsibility for reemployment.

Middle of the Road

In his statement on the budget, he promised there would be no further taxation unless the Supreme Court should invalidate the processing tax. Thus Mr. Roosevelt strengthened his "breathing spell" promise. He was conciliatory. There was none of the Tory-baiting of his Green Bay, Wisconsin, speech a year before.

From all of which it is fair to deduce that Mr. Roosevelt is willing to take a middle-of-the-road course if business and the Supreme Court make it possible for him to do so.

But it must be said that Mr. Roosevelt is unpredictable. He has followed a zig-zag course. At times left-wing influences seem to dominate him. At other times he holds forth the olive branch. The necessity of holding New York and the mid-west simultaneously would indicate that more of the same is likely in the immediate months to come.



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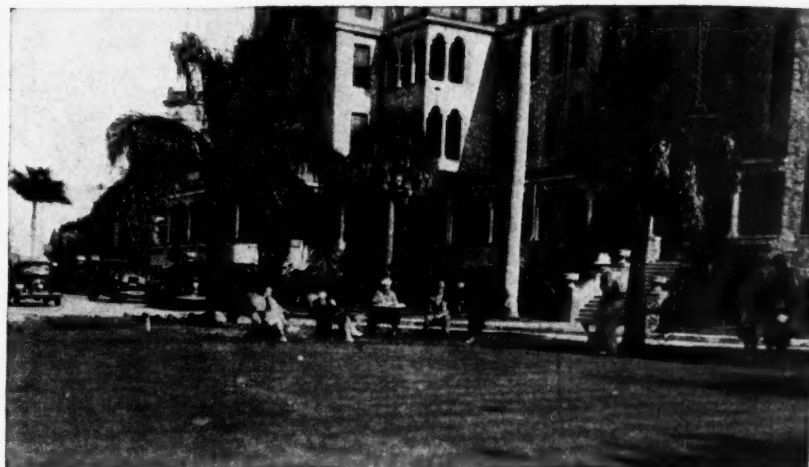
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TRAVEL Aboard a world cruise ship, passengers gazing at the famous Sugar Loaf in Rio de Janeiro's beautiful harbor. At right, the camera catches a typical pair on the highways of Colombia.

SOUTH LIES HISPANIC AMERICA

Are South American ports on your winter itinerary? They should be, for it is a different world of gracious people and strange customs inviting closer acquaintance. Visit the New Spain!

VISIT THE Argentine republic. Here is a white man's country, largely Spanish and Italian mixed, with a thriving population of 12 million. The climate is temperate, and when it's winter in New York, it's summer on the grassy pampas. In other words, the seasons reverse themselves, which is a splendid thing from the tourist point of view.

The Argentine is a ranching country, with whiskered gauchos in loose baggy pants, just like Rudolph Valentino in "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse", which most of us have seen at one time or another. Cattle on vast ranges are the staple output of the romantic Argentinos, and most of them lead an agrarian life.

Town to the Argentines means Buenos Aires, or just plain B.A., which is a very beautiful city with a number of the architectural wonders of the world. The president of the republic does not live in a White House, but instead in a Pink House of a cheerful roseate color. The fash-

ionable clubs are very fashionable indeed, and there is a hotcha night life which smacks heartily of Paris. Argentinos do the town pink to match the presidential mansion.

There is plenty of English spoken in B.A., for many of the business men and civic leaders have come out from Great Britain or these United States. A profusion of Spanish first names are combined with English or American last names, which denotes that many Anglo-Saxons have settled down and gone native. Polo, played on beautiful fields, is an Argentine specialty, and several star teams have traveled up to North American shores to compete on Long Island and elsewhere. In short, one can say that the Argentine combines a South European civilization at its best with the exotic flavor of South America. The harbor of Buenos Aires is a sight for sore northern eyes, and the enthusiasm of immigrants who go Argentine is only equalled by the avidity with which Ellis Islanders

turn into real 100 per cent Yankees.

As you sip your tasty morning coffee, consider Brazil. For here is where the coffee comes from, raised on vast plantations, amid a tropical setup. The rest of South America speaks Spanish, but Brazil is Portuguese. She is Uncle Sam's best girlfriend among the South American states, and has always shown a maximum of coöperation with her white-whiskered pal to the north. Brazilians are also rubber raisers, and like the Argentines raise other things of a more cheerful sort when they visit their metropolis.

This is Rio de Janeiro—or January River—which many claim is the most beautiful harbor in the world, although Sydney in Australia also has fervent devotees. The Brazilian upper crust knows how to step out, and there is a variety of entertainment for the lucky visitor. In one respect Brazil is more picturesque than the Argentine. The Argentine is practically all white, whereas Brazil is

partly Portuguese, partly Italian, partly German, partly Japanese, partly Indian, partly Negro, which is, after all, a fair range. There is everything from tangos and the poetry of Goethe to semi-oodoo rites from the Congo. The extreme south is almost entirely German, with a ranching civilization which reminds one in some respects of the Boers in South Africa. There is often an interesting economic and political feud between the "boss section" around Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro and the temperate southern area known as Rio Grande do Sul.

Incidentally, Brazil covers an area as big as the United States, and has a population of close to 40 million. In the interior is a vast unexplored wilderness, populated by strange tribes, queer animals, and all sorts of weird mysteries. Anything can happen there, and peculiar tales are told of horrors and wonders and exploits. Here is to be found the hideous vampire bat which preys on sleeping travelers in the best tradition of Dracula. There are many kinds of big cats and snakes, and all about is a veritable heaven for younger sons and naturalists. What a contrast to the gay, sophisticated life of Rio de Janeiro, with its Paris styles, snappy clubs, and Hispano-Suizas.

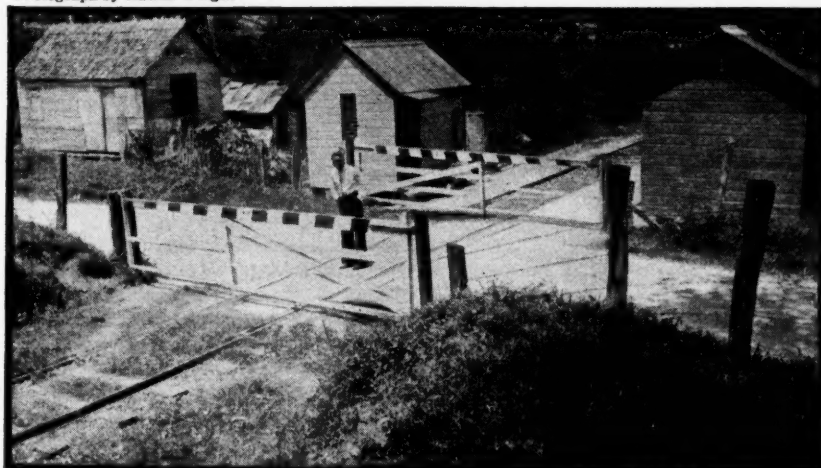
What price Chile? Now we're over on the Pacific, for this country is a narrow strip that comprises half the South American coast, with the Andes mountains in the background. If the Argentine is Southern Europe, then here is Northern Europe in a South American setting. Chile has been called the Prussia of the Andes, and everything Chilean is clean and neat, orderly and efficient. Two big cities are the *ciudades* of Santiago and Valparaiso. In these attractive towns English and Germans abound, and there is a strong infusion of northern blood. The Chilean army has been

trained by Germans, and the Chilean navy by Britons. The national hero bears the not unfamiliar name of Bernardo O'Higgins, which is a fairly good index of what constitutes a Chilean. Mostly Indians have kept to themselves instead of interbreeding, and are the noblest of red men, the heroic Aracaniens. Big business in Chile is primarily the nitrate industry, which has turned into a virtual government monopoly called Cosach. For many decades Chile supplied the world with her mineral output, although of late years nitrates artificially produced in Europe have set back South American prosperity. The public buildings of the two big Chilean cities are very ornate and of great historic interest. There is plenty of entertainment for the voyager, although it is set at a slower pace than in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro.

There are only 4 million Chileans, but they are possessed of an enormous national pride which at times has verged on the militaristic, not to say the bellicose. The army used to be trained to do the goose-step in spiked helmets, while the sailors had a time-honored maritime tradition all their own. Neighbors of Chile have had reason to acknowledge the prowess of Chilean arms, and business men of the United States have long enjoyed profitable relations with these Hispanic-American go-getters.

After you have seen the Argentine, take a side trip up into little Uruguay. The capital is Montevideo, most progressive port in South America, with a splendid climate. Uruguay is one of the best advanced countries in the world socially, and has a full set of pension and labor-protection laws on the European pattern. This little state, population 2 million, functions politically on a two-party system, as do England and the United States. Other South American countries are ruled either by dictatorship or by a

Photograph by Edwin Wright



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multiplicity of party factions like those of Continental Europe. Uruguay stresses religious freedom, liberty of political expression, and equality for women.

As in the Argentine and southern Brazil, ranching is the major industry, and capitalists of socialistic Uruguay are mostly gaucho cattle-kings who like to drop into town for trading. Montevideo, by the way, was the meeting place of the last great Pan-American Conference, held in 1933.

Venezuela is known as the South American republic with a beautifully balanced budget. This indicates thrifty management, although the population is by no means as high grade as are those of Chile and Uruguay. Caracas, the capital, was the home city of two great South American liberators, Bolivar and Miranda, a pair of George Washingtons who served to shatter the yoke of Spain. Many of the West Indian cruises, coming down from the Virgin Islands, land their passengers at La Guayra for a short trip up into the Andes, where Caracas sits in lonely dignity.

Here we find donkeys, lottery tickets, bull-fights, cathedrals, the home of Bolivar and his national

shrine, not to mention several attractive country clubs in the outskirts of town. It is interesting to note that the name Venezuela means Little Venice, since the early Spaniards here discovered water-dwelling Indians who vaguely reminded them of the gondola-paddlers of Adriatic haunts. Small brown street urchins rush to and fro in a hectic appeal for American cigarettes, and American pennies are not disdained when scattered by a bountiful hand. Venezuela is an oil country, and this is its main source of prosperity. Shell of England and Standard Oil of the United States are interested in the natural resources of the country, and it accounts for a keen interest taken abroad in Venezuelan affairs.

Now Chaco war is over, and South America is experiencing neither revolutions nor international conflicts. In all of the 10 republics to the south there are peace, picturesque security, and a happy blend of Indo-Hispanic friendship and hospitality. Western Europe is not so very foreign to the Yankee, after all. But pampas, plazas, and picadors of the South American continent constitute a fertile field for travel-minded.

The Year Abroad: Stormy

(Continued from page 43)

With the blackskins are swarms of foreign experts, largely from Belgium and Switzerland, but also from United States Harlem and oriental lands. The ominous war chapter is as yet unfinished, as Italian armies plug ahead behind a screen of fast-moving light tanks, Fiat-built and holding two men each. Veteran Ethiopian elephant-hunters have been reported as unafraid of these military mastodons.

After Benito—What?

Political prediction is always a difficult matter. Should Mussolini eventually be forced out of office (which is quite possible) by League sanctions, Ethiopian hardships, and the British navy, what would be the succession in Italy? Certainly not the communists, whose organization in the peninsula is hopelessly disrupted. Probably not the Constitution of 1848, Italian charter of liberties before the advent of fascism. In the writer's opinion, a triumvirate made up of ambitious General Balbo, disaffected Crown Prince Umberto, and the Catholic church.

Early in November Greece, by a 9 to 1 vote, called back her exiled King George II, following overthrow of the republic. George, ousted in 1923, was living quietly in London when summoned by the referendum. Meanwhile Austria was talking in terms of mon-

archy, with young Otto Hapsburg—exiled in Belgium—and Prince Starhemberg—Austrian dictator—as rival candidates for the vacant throne of Vienna.

Great Britain Votes

The long-awaited British general election came in mid-November. The National government has been in office since the fall of 1931, first under the premiership of MacDonald, later under Baldwin. Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare have served successively as foreign ministers, Hoare having been a British agent in Russia during the World War. In the 1931 election, the National coalition won a 5 to 1 majority in Parliament, and a feeble little Labor party with some Liberal fragments has been in opposition.

The general course of the National government has been moderate conservative, and the war scare with Italy—following a royal jubilee in honor of King George V—greatly furthered the electoral chances of the Tories. Labor leadership was notably weak, but a triple alliance of independents—Lloyd George, Snowden, and Sir Herbert Samuel—made an able opposition stand under peculiar circumstances. The maximum term for a British Parliament is five years; so the next general election will take place no later than 1940.

—ROGER SHAW

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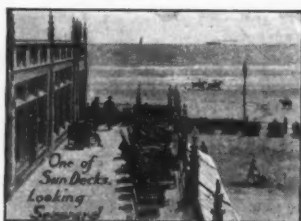
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Ethiopia's Chinese War

(Continued from page 42)

mount the guns on rolling carriages, sink only posts of cement to which the guns are tied, discharged, and then carried on to new posts, as the advance continues at the rate of two miles a day. (Plans called for four miles a day, but the world's most tricky terrain has halved that.)

So far, not one Ethiopian has been injured by a twelve-inch gun, nor will be, unless by accident. The Italians do not want to hurt the Ethiopians (unless in a final pitched battle for psychological effect), as they need their use for labor and contemplate this in a long future.

The heavy guns are being used to blast a way through the mountains. A twelve-inch bullet at half a mile tears a way through a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet of rock and shale—expensive, but it saves time, and time is of the essence of this contract. It is an engineers' war, a road-building problem of men who have rehearsed in Alps and Apennines.

War Ingenuity

They have converted the siege gun into a blasting tool; the iron spikes of the soldiers' shoes into pilot pulleys for the projection of trolleys across gorges whence they sling supplies and ammunition; the entrenching spade into an irrigation sluicer wherewith they divert streams from their beds and so create roadways already formed by perpetual water. The tank becomes a lorry to carry native troops into the front line, whence opponents flee, having observed awesomely this advance of the mechanized force that relentlessly converts virgin and hitherto unconquered terrain into a smooth causeway for Roman legions.

On Nov. 1 Italian headquarters officially announced the casualties for the first four weeks of this "war": 193, of which five were killed in action. On one of those nights there was a five-minute gang action in Newark, N. J., with five casualties. For the week ending Nov. 2 in New York City, automobiles killed 21. No wonder the correspondents in Adowa feel safer there than they would in Times Square.

Well, then, if the situation in the Mediterranean is only a bluffing contest, and the casualties in Ethiopia are negligible, what is it all about?

To this writer it looks like a Chinese war. Chinese military leadership discounts lethal combat, and likes to admit eventual probabilities without the knock-down and drag-out requirements of the more primitive Anglo-Saxon. Thus it becomes es-

sential before the contest to consider the obstacles which may prevent opponents admitting defeat. These obstacles, subtle as well as obvious, the Chinese sum up in "face".

While the front lines in a Chinese war go through the motions—sounding drums, flinging stink-pots, killing an occasional unfortunate by accident—the leaders suavely consider how to save face. None wishes to be outdone by another in this paramount requirement which far transcends in importance any mere military skill or force. All thoroughly realize that if faces are not saved peace may not result, and thousands of years of experience have taught them that a military contest is stupid, in comparison to the subtlety of face-saving. As opponents meet, the first remark usually is "My dear fellow, how can I save your face?", and the answer as often is "If you can show me a way to save your face, I wouldn't mind your saving mine."

Will the war in Ethiopia remain Chinese to the end? Perhaps not entirely. Perhaps, to use that useful Genevan phrase, "only in principle". After all, an omelet is made with broken eggs. This writer remembers Lord Kitchener's saying to him that in his Sudan campaign his only apprehension was that the Mahdi would not attack in force; and that when at last at Omdurman he saw the hordes of the Mad Mullah advancing, he lay down for his first sleep in months.

The Italians are in a similar position now. The fact, as well as the result, of a coming Ethiopian massed attack are alike inevitable.

Meanwhile, the diplomatic front works to save face. When Winston Churchill made his bid for his old post in the Admiralty, before the Commons, by saying "Mussolini's acceptance of economic sanctions is the strongest thing he has done," he spoke in the Chinese manner.

Italian engineers are doing an excellent face-saving job as they proceed at half pace according to blue-print in Tigre, and across the Takaseh, over the Danakil and up the River Shibeli. Selassie, having consumed Parisian tea at copious feasts of raw meat, herds his human flocks tenuously toward a face-saving encounter. Laval, of no party, warily watches even unto 4 in the morning for still another face to save. Mussolini, grown grayer in six months, strives to merit the compliments of his adept opponents, as he thrusts the Italian spearhead farther into Africa than any Caesar ever went. And the British assert that they would like not to punch his face, but to save it while saving their own.

The Bottle Neck

(Continued from page 50)

ported cheap immigrant labor to compete in the export market left his descendants a prosperous mill, which is now falling brick from brick, and a dilution of the national level of ability which makes the nation's troubles more than a matter of supply and demand, or currency fluctuations.

The business man's burden has thus been left on his doorstep by earlier generations of business men. This burden is measurable, not in inches or pounds, but in mental ages. The more general ability, the higher the mental age, the maximum mental age being nineteen years. Specimen tests showing what the psychologist expects from the mental ages of 9, 10, 12, and 14 were described last month. Half of all delinquent boys, half the unmarried mothers, one fourth of all prisoners, are definitely below the average intelligence. And the average intelligence of the country, believe it or not, is below thirteen years. The children of families of the professional classes test about 30 per cent above the average child. Children of business families rate about 20 per cent above average. But the children, the numerous children, of unskilled laborers rate about 20 per cent below.

Shoes in Factories

Let's go to a shoe factory. We find one heel-trimmer turning out 1,090 pairs a day, another only 765. Here are some bottom-scurers—one turns out 490 pairs on an average day, the other averages 245 pairs a day. In the consol lasting department we find one worker turning out 210 pairs in a day and another unable to do more than 130 pairs. All these are machine operations, mind you, a type of work which many dreamers think eliminates the human element. But the human element is still the bottle neck of production.

In silk weaving, the best operator in one department had her loom in operation one and one-half times as many minutes each working day as the poorest operator on the floor. Figure the overhead on the poorer workers! In one cotton mill, the piecework earnings of the best were twice the earnings of the poorest. The piecework earnings of the best hosiery maker also were almost twice (lacking only one-tenth) the earnings of the poorest. In polishing silver spoons, the best girl had slightly more than five times more output per day.

And those who are in business for themselves—take taxi drivers in Philadelphia, who are given the use of \$2,000 capital (in the form of the taxicab) by the company. The 40 best



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drivers earned for themselves, on the average, \$1,626.74 a year. The 40 poorest earned an annual average of \$1,069.91.

There was the same capital outlay for each, the same equipment, the same opportunity, but some consistently earned for themselves 60 per cent more than did others.

Psychological measurements of various mental powers show even greater differences in some functions. A study of 107 pupils starting high-school, for instance, showed that in general information the best was nineteen times better than the poorest. In quality of writing the best was ahead by only three lengths; almost three and a half ahead in speed of reading; nearly six ahead in immediate memory; five ahead in following easy directions; and ten ahead in self-confidence.


It was not the same pupil who was the poorest on all the tests, of course, or he would likely have been in another school—a school for the feeble-minded. Nor was the same pupil the best in all the tests, or he would have been an infant prodigy. All have their ups and down in ability, their strong points and a few weak points. The tragedy arises when the demands of the work and the person's weak points are the same.

Degrees of Skill

The difference between the best and poorest operators, coming close to a 2 to 1 ratio on the average, should cause some serious upsetting of our too-implicit faith in the power of the machine. All the factory workers cited heretofore were working in places equipped with modern machinery, yet some consistently turned out approximately twice the product of the others. All the workers were experienced. All had the incentive of working for themselves on a piece-work basis. But some just could not come up to average.

The introduction of machinery has not made business any less independent of the human being. Rather the opposite, in fact, for the poor worker may now be restricting the output of a \$2,000 machine. The machine magnifies the importance of the worker: when a man slows down in operating a machine which does the work of ten men, he is slowing down not one man but ten.

All this talk about the "best" and the "poorest" worker may cause us to overlook the most important of all—the average worker. Salesmen, business men, bottom-sourers, hosiery-workers, and all cannot be divided scientifically into two groups of the good and the poor. Human nature, and work aptitude, shade gradually from one extreme to the other, with




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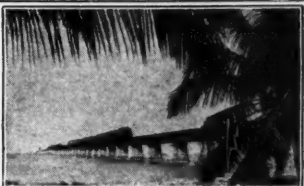
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most persons in any occupation grouped around the middle—the average. This is called the normal distribution curve.

There are some lazy people seven feet tall, and a few cock-sure fellows not quite five feet tall. But most range around five feet ten, the average height. For height, as with work aptitude, is found in human beings in a normal distribution curve. A few, say 10 per cent, are too high for the average but are not at the extreme. And another 10 per cent are too short to be average but not stunted.

All the qualities and traits of human beings, of all living things for that matter, are ushered into this interesting world according to a curve of normal distribution. One

may find himself at the average point of the curve of height, at the low extreme in legibility of handwriting, above average in skill with hands, and so on.

We should not gather the idea that the strong points always counterbalance the weak ones, so that the net result is an average. Some persons range up and down, but mostly on the high side of the normal distribution curve; and there are some who fluctuate around from quality to quality, but pretty consistently on the low side of the scales. The practical problem is to discover the general all-around range, as well as the individual's strong spots to capitalize and his weak spots to keep them from being needed in his daily work.

All persons have high and low spots in their abilities. There is a tendency for some to have their abilities cluster at the high end. Others cluster at the low end. And most of us cluster around the middle—the famous average men and women.

This sum total of a person's high and low abilities gives that widely used and highly serviceable index of what may be called general ability, or general intelligence. There is much more to human nature than this thing we are calling general ability, but from it we can learn most about human strengths and shortcomings. More experimental work has been done on the subject of intelligence than on any other aspect of human nature, which reflects its importance.

New Things in Aviation

(Continued from page 36)

and is steering wrong. The air brakes, or flaps, retard speed even in steep glides. Slow-landing planes make flying safer and more practicable.

High-flying airplanes, if they are to be occupied by passengers, must carry the kind of air necessary to sustain life—that is, approximate sea level air. One cannot live very long four miles high, because of the lack of oxygen in the air. The makeshift of giving each passenger an oxygen tank would not be successful. It might freeze up, or the passenger might use too much of it, or fall asleep and forget to use it at all. Our air-force pilots and stunt pilots use oxygen that way. Sometimes it fails them, and they get into trouble. The answer is the sealed-cabin airplane, air-conditioned like a modern railroad coach; and, furthermore, supercharged so that the fresh air coming into the cabin will be of the same density, have the same oxygen content, as that at sea level or thereabouts.

To provide real comfort for passengers, the air transport company must take pains that no matter what happens, whatever the kind of weather, engine trouble (which is extremely rare), or fog, ice, snow, radio failure—anything at all, no matter what—an airplane can be brought to a safe harbor on the surface without danger to the occupants. The average aircraft expert believes firmly that this generation will enjoy absolute safety in the air. How quickly will this millennium come? Sooner than one would think.

High and Blind

Navigation through the distant regions of the sub-stratosphere involves the most finished kind of instrument flying, because there the pilots cannot resort to lighted beacons and other landmarks when they want to land. Radio directional equipment is becoming almost infallible. It requires only a few minor improvements to make it absolutely dependable.

The directional radio keeps the pilot on a true course by warning him when he swerves from his charted path through space. He now can ride that invisible beam without worrying about it. The transport pilots fly clear across the country, day and night, depending on those beams. Some 50 air transport planes are in the air every hour of the day and night over the United States. That proves that their radio must be working efficiently.

The gyropilot has reached such a state of development that it is standard equipment. Weather-reporting service is improving daily.

What of fog? How far has that been conquered? A year ago the Bureau

of Air Commerce announced that it had made hundreds of instrument landings in fog, using a system developed by the Army Air Corps. The air lines now are using the system experimentally, and they hope that it will be developed to a point where they can land passengers in any weather.

This landing system permits the pilot flying toward an airport, blanketed in fog or snow, to get on the regular radio beam and come within a few miles of the landing field. There he strikes a supplementary beam which shows him how far he is from the airport. He flies on until he strikes another radio beam, and by circling the area, he knows that these two fog beams form the points of a straight through invisible line, leading him to a point where he need prepare only for a normal landing.

Another problem is ice, rated akin to fog but no longer as much of a problem. Increased speed of air liners keeps a great amount of ice off the wings and other surfaces. Also their ability to fly high permits the pilot to climb up or come down out of an ice-forming area before it becomes a nuisance—before it distorts the aerodynamic shape of wings, stabilizers, and other surfaces. A plane may be flying only a few hundred feet high and suddenly run into ice-forming conditions. Five hundred feet higher there may be no ice at all. Usually the pilot has time to work his way out of the area, or at least come down to an airport. Ice on the wings and other parts of the plane is no longer disturbing to lines equipped with fast planes and modern equipment.

They now are installing as standard equipment, however, a device heretofore experimental. It is known as the Goodrich de-icer. It is mechanical. It is rubber, a corrugated rubber mat in appearance, but actually rubber cells which are inflated and deflated by air pressure controlled from the pilot's cockpit. Alternate inflation and deflation cracks the ice. These de-icers are placed on the leading edges of the wings, the horizontal fins on the tail, and even on the propellers.

Propeller ice can be dangerous, particularly around the hubs. How to stop it? Simple, when you hear this: They now have fashioned a streamlined cap for the hub. It fits over the hub. Its interior contains a gelatine composition which will not freeze, and which will prevent ice forming on anything it covers. This compound is permitted to leak out and dribble over the hub and propeller blades. Thus covered they ward off ice.

One cannot leave the subject without pointing out the radical difference between air line and private flying.

The motor car is inherently a safe vehicle, as safe as a horse and wagon. It has wheels, it can be stopped, and it always has a place on which to stop. Yet there are many motor car accidents. There are also many private airplane accidents. The human element again enters here.

Private pilots fly off the beaten path and get into trouble. They go up without instruments. They take out a plane intended for one purpose and use it for another. They sometimes take chances that not even the most reckless motorist would take. Some of them are killed while testing planes, experimenting or stunt-flying. Like motor cars, airplanes become old.

The question which most people like to ask is: How fast will airplanes ultimately travel? In fact, the average person is disappointed if he does not receive assurance that something unheard of will shortly appear to revolutionize speed, as if present speeds were not fast enough. Who knows? Perhaps Professor Goddard or his rival inventors in the rocket field will one day develop aircraft rocket motors that will make incredible speed. Their experiments indicate that the maximum speed of rockets will be about 900 miles an hour, which is a hundred-odd miles slower than the speed which the earth makes day and night as it turns on its axis.

In airplanes as we know them, the cautious scientists at the laboratories of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics have determined, the absolute speed possible appears to be something like 624 miles an hour. At that point, we are told, the forces set up by the impact of a body rushing through the air create a sort of protoplasm, which can be detected with the aid of motion picture apparatus.

This protoplasm, for want of a better word, seems to be the result of a chemical change in the compressed air thus created; that, and a combination of moisture. This protoplasm forms over and under the speeding wing at the ultimate or theoretical speed of 624 miles an hour, and appears to grip it and hold it back to that limit of speed just as surely as the tentacles of an octopus grip its prey.

Test planes, equipped for safer landing on water, have been hurled through the air for a clocked speed of 440 miles an hour. A land plane has made more than 350 miles an hour, built and flown by Howard Hughes. Commercial aircraft are now climbing into the 225 to 250 miles-an-hour class, with assurance that they soon will reach 290 miles an hour, or close to 5 miles a minute. We know that the stunt flight of today is the commonplace of tomorrow.

